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AUTHOR Wallace, Judy Maxine
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ABSTRACT

This thesis addresses the issue of cultural matching in the area of mentoring in youth and social services and examines, within the context of current and future racial relations, the potential messages that cultural matching may be communicating to youth. The beginning chapters historically trace juvenile delinquency and child-saving services and the current status of youth. This is followed by chapters that define and provide various interpretations of mentoring and its history; its program structures, goals, and operations; research evaluating its effects; and other sociological and psychological research in support of its ideology. Next is a discussion on the two perspectives of how matching should be executed, their ideological bases, and how the opposing beliefs can be understood through the application of sociological literature pertaining to the nature of prejudice, intergroup relations, and ideologies of assimilation and multicultural societies. A brief chapter presents research on minority children's racial and ethnic identities, areas often mentioned in defense of cultural matching. Finally, two social-service cases are compared on the basis of their transracial-adoption and human-service relationships. Recommendations for the future of the field and directions for evaluation conclude the paper. An appendix presents study data. (Contains more than 250 references.) (GLR)

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The Controversy of Cultural Matching: Its Significance within a Mentoring Framework

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The Controversy of Cultural Matching:
Its Significance within a Mentoring Framework

By

JUDY MAXINE WALLACE

B.A. (Duke University) 1990
M.S. (University of California, Davis) 1994

THESIS

Submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements for the degree of

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INTRODUCTION

"The future is what is to be decided."
- C.Wright Mills (1959, p. 174)

We live in an era of information, a time when more people are discussing, learning, and becoming aware of historically hidden social issues. One situation of growing concern among all classes and races within the United States is that of the inner city. Known at different periods as ghettoes, slums, or projects, today's inner cities seem to suffer from more plagues than ever before. Perhaps this intensity is false, an illusion created simply because more people outside these zones are affected by population growth and crime stemming from within them. Research and demographic data, however, reveal that these areas are characterized by high concentrations of minorities living in overwhelming poverty. They include African Americans, new immigrants, and other ethnic groups which lack English language competency, skills, and/or contacts necessary for success in the mainstream economy. The poverty in America's inner cities is manifested in high rates of joblessness; single parent, female-headed households; illegal money-making activities such as drug sales and prostitution; crime that includes rape, theft, and gun weaponry; decrepit housing and poorly funded public institutions (e.g., schools, libraries, community centers, etc.); few legal entrepreneurial opportunities; drug abuse; gang warfare; and pervading every corner, pessimistic outlooks, hopelessness, and ubiquitous depression.

Amidst this urban decay, children are raised. Yet often, the carefree childhoods so familiar to middle-America are fleeting in the inner city. This reality led Alex Kotlowitz (1991) to title the history of two brothers' struggle of growth in a dangerous Chicago tenement as <u>There Are No Children Here</u>. It is no wonder that the term used to describe inner city youth is "at-risk". Of course, all children face dangers as their knowledge and experience base expands. However, for children growing up in inner cities, often equated to war zones, "threats to their development are early deprivation that suppresses intelligence, repressive environments that stultify creativity and foster rigid thinking, and dead-end settings that are cut off from a society's principal resources" (Garbarino, Dubrow, Kostelny, and Pardo, 1992, p. 8). Such hazards, coupled at times with biological risk factors, "increase the likelihood of a negative

developmental outcome in a group of people" (Werner & Smith, 1992, p. 3). Inner city youth are at-risk because they live in areas that are not only harmful to, but often times impede, healthy development, adaptation, and entrance into a productive adulthood.

As society recognizes the bleakness of this situation, it tries to combat it. Fighting the crisis that most inner city youth face is no easy task, in part because there is no single tool with which to attack it. Children's problems, ages, genders, and ethnicities are as varied as any other group in the U.S.. One method that has become extremely popular since the late 1980s is Mentoring. Primarily aimed at children 10 years and older, mentoring programs foster positive connections between caring adults and youth who may not be exposed to the human and social resources that they need to flourish. These structured programs are:

> designed to foster relationships between a young person and someone more senior in age and experience, who can offer support, guidance, and concrete experience to help the young person start a new undertaking, succeed in an important task, or otherwise realize their potential as they move toward adulthood. (Walsh, 1989, p. 9)

More in-depth theory behind mentoring programs, their various designs, research on their effectiveness, and most specifically, the methods they employ to match mentors with youth, will be the basis of this thesis.

It is not my intention to simply restate what has been written on mentoring. Rather, I hope to provide the reader with a solid foundation from which to begin *an analysis of the use and significance of cultural vs. non-cultural matching techniques*. Currently, there seem to be two distinct methods used by programs which match adult mentors with youth. On one hand, pairing occurs according to similar identity characteristics, such as race, gender, and ethnicity; this method is known as cultural matching. The other practice matches adults with youth based on mentors' levels of commitment, caring, and cultural competence. Programs which use non-cultural matching techniques believe that each mentor is unique and capable of providing benefits; they do not "disqualify" adults from working with youth who are not of the same racial or ethnic background. Proponents of either method do not respect the other and consequently, a problem that has surfaced is a lack of dialogue. Insufficient attention has been paid to the issue of

whether matching by race, gender, and ethnicity is important to the overall effectiveness of the mentoring relationship. Although there is much rhetoric, it appears to be founded on little research.

In light of this reality, the purpose of this thesis is to: 1) analyze these two opposing matching techniques and discuss what they represent for the future of race relations in the U.S.; 2) understand the dynamic of the relationship bond that develops between mentors and youth and decide if, how, when, and under what circumstances it occurs; 3) interpret the message cultural matching may send to youth; 4) determine the extent to which existing program beliefs are founded on solid research; and 5) recommend the direction of future research and dialogue for mentoring programs. A thorough, insightful, and well representative discussion of such broad issues like race, youth development and human bonding, racial ideology and intergroup dynamics, and multiculturalism could be provided only by drawing on literature from a variety of disciplines and grounding it within a context of programmatic realities. Thus, this thesis is founded on an extensive, cross-disciplinary literature review. Such discussion is significant because it has not been fully attempted in the field of mentoring, nor in the larger realm of youth services.

The following document may appear largely theoretical, and to many practitioners, this may automatically translate into a useless document as well. Yet I cannot help but feel frustrated by the divisions between academia and the field of social services, between sociological/multicultural studies and the way some programs operate, between human development theory and the way we approach our youth. It is therefore my hope that, in addition to contributing to my own growth process, this thesis will: 1) address adequately the controversial issue of cultural matching, of which many people in the social services are aware, but about which few have openly discussed, 2) stimulate thought in the fields of mentoring and youth services, 3) provoke developing and already existing mentoring programs to reflect on the potential messages they are communicating to youth through their method of matching, and 4) add to or confirm already existing knowledge regarding the significance of race and the future of race relations in American society.

In defense of presenting practitioners with a theoretical document, I must admit that I believe in the value of theory. William Foote Whyte advocates in Social Theory For Action (1991) that theory guides action, action guides theory, and the cycle continues indefinitely. He explains:

> Local theories influence behavior, so it is important for leaders to recognize the common assumptions and shared attitudes and values that support prevailing ways of working. Leaders also need to recognize the formal theories that have developed in their fields of action and that may continue to shape their own thoughts and actions. (p. 259)

It is my hope that as the mentoring movement continues to address the needs of at-risk youth, its leaders will reflect on the theories guiding their actions, ponder the research presented in the following pages, and be open to allowing their actions to change. In this way, that which is theoretical can also have applied importance.

In an effort to further ensure that the following work has direct impact on mentoring programs, I have organized its body to make it readable and, hopefully, enjoyable. Most of every chapter (except the last) consists of an overview and summary of the literature pertaining to a specific topic. These chapters outline major themes and esearch from the literature. In addition, each chapter (except the conclusion) is followed by an annotated bibliography that offers detailed avenues for the reader who wishes to explore further. I start broadly and narrow in on specific matching techniques and their significance only after the reader has a solid foundation with which to interpret and digest cross-discipline theories.

Thus, the beginning chapters establish the context for understanding the recent mentoring movement: first, juvenile delinquency and child saving services are traced historically, and then the current status of youth is described in detail. Then I delve into the topic of mentoring: various definitions and interpretations; history, program structures, goals, and operations; evaluation research detailing its effects; and finally, a separate chapter on other sociological and psychological research in support of its ideology. Next is a discussion on the two perspectives of how matching should be executed, their ideological bases, and how the opposing beliefs can be understood through the application of sociological literature pertaining to the nature of prejudice, intergroup relations, and ideologies of assimilation and multicultural societies. A brief chapter presents research on minority children's racial and ethnic identities, which are often mentioned in defense of cultural matching. Since literature on the effects of mentoring is scarce, and is either programmatic (i.e., atheoretical) or ideological, I present two cases from other social service fields where similar controversy over the process of cultural matching exists. The two case comparisons are: 1) transracial adoption and 2) human service relationships between client/therapist and client/social worker.

Included here is information on cross-cultural competence and models in use now by some social service agencies dedicated to creating a truly pluralistic society. The final chapter brings the analysis back to mentoring: it contains recommendations for the future of the field, directions for evaluation, and conclusions regarding the cultural matching controversy and whether the two techniques need to be mutually exclusive.

There are limitations to my work. Once I began my research, I realized that a comprehensive literature review of such a complex subject would entail writing a dissertation. I had to scale down my ambitions of reviewing studies from numerous disciplines in order to manage the production of a thesis within the given time frame. Thus, the literature review is thorough, but by no means exhaustive. The chapter summaries highlight dominant themes, but compromise what could be a much larger volume of theoretical writing. Another limitation relating to the depth and breadth of the thesis is the limit of discussion to only one aspect of the matching procedure: culture, as it relates to race and ethnicity. It is important to note that matching is executed along other lines such as language, gender, skill, and geographic similarities. However, many of these are agreed upon in the field, while the issues of race and ethnicity are not. This dichotomy prompted me to devote research specifically to what cultural matching along racial and ethnic lines represents to youth and to society at large. A final limitation stems from the scant evaluative research that has been conducted of mentoring programs and their matching processes. In order to emphasize the significance of racial and ethnic issues in the social services, I took the liberty to stray from the mentoring field and rely on other cases containing more research. Some may view this information as having no relevance to actual mentoring relationships, and certainly, it was not my intention to equate mentoring with adoption, for instance. It was my hope that the reader may realize the ideological similarities of matching arguments and appreciate expanding knowledge through cross-disciplinary analysis.

Of course, a limitation to any work are the author's biases inherent in it. So that the reader may understand what mine are, I have traced a part of my belief system back to two primary sources: a personal relationship and experience in various inner cities. Although I did not fully realize my father's openness to others while I was growing up, I can reflect now on the model of integrity, sensitivity, tolerance, and most importantly, impartiality that he has always embodied. A Polish, post World War II

immigrant, my father arrived in the U.S. without any immediate family or money. Eventually he married and bought a newspaper delivery service in Elizabeth, NJ. Even at that time, Elizabeth was predominantly poor with a large concentration of African Americans*. My father believed that everyone, regardless of their race, language, or religion, deserved a chance, so he would hire young Blacks and other at-risk teens who had little or no prior job experience. Who was he, to pose as a mentor, to believe in these disadvantaged, often untrustworthy and crime committing, youngsters? Yet he did, and with many, he succeeded in developing relationships through which he taught job skills, responsibility, and respect.

My biases also stem from various work and volunteer experiences that I have had in inner cities across the country. In East Harlem, NYC, I was fortunate to work on a cross-disciplinary team conducting research with elderly Hispanics and their perceptions of social support networks. While attending college in Durham, NC, I directed as well as volunteered for a Big Brother/Big Sister mentoring program which linked university students to a mostly African American community. For two years in Oakland, CA, I worked with the developmentally disabled population which was very representative of the city's racial and socio-economic demographics. I continue to be tied to the Oakland community through friendships with past clients and through my participation as a CASA (Court Appointed Special Advocate) mentor to an African American youth. Finally, in South Central and East Los Angeles, CA, I evaluated an after school activity program which was located at four low-income housing developments and which targeted at-risk, mainly minority youth between the ages of 7-13.

These experiences and relationships have caused me to reflect deeply on the potential value and effect I can have in inner cities. Essentially, the question I have come to ask of myself is: Where do I, as a white middle class female, fit in? Some would prefer I simplify the question by asking: *Do I*, as a white middle class female, fit in? Yet I must have faith that somewhere, somehow, my endeavors have helped someone - even if s/he was of a different cultural background. On one level, I can rely on demographics to answer my question about where I fit in. According to 1980 census data for five large

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*The terms 'African American' & 'Black' will be interchanged throughout this document as they are in most current literature. In keeping with common practice, 'Black' will be capitalized occasionally and 'African American' will always be capitalized.

central cities, only 7% of all poor whites lived in extreme poverty areas. Poor whites reside in very different areas from poor blacks which results in "social isolation" where "contact between groups of different class and/or racial backgrounds is either lacking or has become increasingly intermittent" (Wilson, 1987, pp. 58-61). The 1990 census data further validates my self-consciousness and self-doubt. Whereas the total population for West Oakland - considered one of the city's poorest and most dangerous neighborhoods - was 20,502, Whites constituted only 8.4% in contrast to 91.7% of other minorities (Blacks 63.8%, American Indians .5%, Asians 22.4%, and Hispanics 5%). Nevertheless, I remain unsure if residential segregation patterns should keep people divided along ethnic and class lines.

For the reasons cited, my biases rest on hope and optimism that people of different cultures can work together. More specifically, I want to believe that *in certain instances* Whites can mentor African Americans and other ethnic youths, just as adults of minority groups can and should do the same for White youth. I want to believe that race may be one important factor to consider in matching mentors with youth, but not the only priority. In summary, my hypotheses upon beginning this project were:

1) Youths need more than one mentor.

2) Each mentor can contribute something unique and positive.

3) Matching by race, gender, and/or ethnicity may be an adult construct, not reflective of youths' concerns or desires. Research supporting these conjectures seems scarce.

4) The attachment system can be activated in mentoring relationships.

5) Programs which *only* utilize cultural matching may serve to perpetuate a society divided by race and ethnicity, by maintaining rather than dismantling barriers.

6) The two methods of matching should not be mutually exclusive, but recognized as each having shifting relevance or importance. It need not be an either/or situation.

It is my sincere hope that the reader who disagrees with these biases will still consider my attempt at research as an analytical discussion of a social issue which has received very little attention thus far. I have struggled to understand and present both sides of every argument, to allow those on one side of the matching argument the chance to understand the other. After all, "the social task of reason is to formulate choices, to enlarge the scope of human decisions in the making of history" (Mills, 1959, p. 174). I hope

the following pages contribute some value to the field of mentoring, to youth services, and to anyone interested in considering ways to create a more just and human society. To the best of my ability, I have tried to untangle a social issue with the faith that I, and others, will learn its controversial content, realize its significance, and if and when it is appropriate, find the courage to change. C. Wright Mills (1959) conveys my sentiments in the following manner:

> It is easy to see that most social issues involve a tangled-up mess of factual errors and unclear conceptions, as well as evaluative bias. Only after they have been logically untangled is it possible to know whether issues really do involve a conflict of values. Such an untangling sometimes leads readily to a re-statement of the issue in such a way as to open it for solution...so, in order to act, the interested must get straight what it is they value most. (p. 77)

HISTORY OF JUVENILE DELINQUENCY AND CHILD SAVING

"Without use of history...the social scientist cannot adequately state the kinds of problems that ought now to be the orienting points of his studies."
- C.Wright Mills (1959, p. 143)

One cannot fully understand the recent mentoring movement without first placing it within a historical context. History offers an opportunity to realize that neither youth problems nor the services that evolve in an attempt to address them are new. Even the mentoring movement, as will be discussed in a later chapter, is not as innovative as some might believe. The history of juvenile delinquency is intricately tied to the history of child saving: as long as youth have had problems coping with society and its legal system, there have been efforts to devise strategies and services to help them. Looking at the enmeshment of delinquency and youth reform services another way, "juvenile delinquency is a socially constructed 'problem' that may tell us more about adults than about juveniles" (Fine & Mechling, 1993, p. 1). "Child saving" can be viewed as an ideological act, representative of historical and social forces at particular times and locations (Fine & Mechling, 1993, p. 10). By tracing various historical periods of child saving, one can simultaneously learn of youth problems and how adults refined their definitions of juvenile delinquency. The similarities over time are astonishing.

Evidence from ancient speeches, literature, mythology, and artifact graphics suggest that juvenile delinquency was a problem even for the Graeco-Roman empires (Donovan, 1967; Garland, R., 1991). Acts involving assault, drunkenness, sexual activity, prostitution, parental abuse, and property destruction were disciplined through corporal punishment, although thought of as normal conduct for adolescence. Actually, worse than committing the crimes was the act of being caught, viewed as humiliating proof of one's incompetence. These ancient societies realized that "the life of an individual cannot be adequately understood without references to the institutions within which his biography is enacted" (Mills, 1959, p. 161); their military, educational programme, symposium (drinking environment used as a rite of passage), brothels, and public displays of nudity all incited delinquent behavior. In addition, since the early Roman empire was characterized by adult decadence, it was not uncommon for children of the wealthy to try to imitate their parents. Even the "Greeks fully appreciated the extent to which a propensity towards violence

is engendered in the home and has its roots in one's relationship with one's parents - as, of course, modern sociological theories of delinquency do as well" (Garland, R., 1991, p. 14). Hence, although recognized as a problem, juvenile delinquency in these ancient worlds was accepted as a universal tendency among youth and expected to be handled by the delinquent's own family.

Throughout the **Middle Ages**, children displayed wild and undesirable behavior, but due to its commonness and the early exit of children from the homes of their parents, it often went unpunished.

> Vagrant children and foundlings were a problem of the times in every European city...By the fourteenth century thousands of children lived and died and practiced their delinquencies in the streets of London, Paris and Vienna...Teen-agers of the period were, as always, creating problems for adult society. (Donovan, 1967, p. 64)

Aside from poor and homeless children, many delinquent acts were committed by university boys between the ages of 10-20. These were boys of scholarly upbringing who were sent away to college rather than indentured as apprentices (like poorer youngsters). As they traveled from school to school, they begged, stole, engaged in numerous fights (including riots), drank heavily, and practiced sexual promiscuity. "Perhaps the greatest outbreak of juvenile delinquency in recorded history occurred in 1212...caused by the Children's Crusades" (Donovan, 1967, p. 73). Thousands of French and German children left home at the urging of a preacher who encouraged them to travel through Europe and liberate Jerusalem. Transiency and other problems during the Middle Ages were blamed on the adults, for they were viewed to be as delinquent as the children (Donovan, 1967, chap. 4).

The later Middle Ages of the 16th and 17th centuries were characterized by significant political, economic, and social changes that displaced feudal agricultural systems with capitalistic production. Consequently, peasants flocked towards the cities, increasing urban populations significantly. Crime, rioting, and vagrancy became common occurrences, as "the collective units of urban life, the guild and the family, began to weaken under the pressure of social change" (Krisberg & Austin, 1993, p. 9). Localities, in the absence of effective family discipline, began to construct institutions for correcting wayward youth. These were known as bridewells, or houses of correction, and famous examples included The Bridewell of London and The Amsterdam House of Corrections. Housed together, poor, sick, as well as delinquent

children were forced to work during their detainment in order to benefit local industries and supposedly themselves (Krisberg & Austin, 1993, chap. 2).

Depressed conditions in Europe eventually provided the impetus for colonization abroad. The **colonial period** obviously marks any beginning discussion of Early American delinquency. However, because of the colonies' rural demographics (versus the urban cities of Europe), strong education system, and intact family structure, there was little illegal activity. There was greater overall concern for the care of children and their moral upbringing. Youth drank alcohol, but this was not considered a problem since everyone followed suit. One "paradox in Puritan morality was the apparently high level of sex delinquency" possibly caused by numerous children sharing a bed in order to conserve fuel (Donovan, 1967, pp. 128-9). The only other source of delinquency in the colonies stemmed from the class of juveniles who were transported from Europe as either felons or indentured servants. Masters kept them in line however with either harsh beatings or unbearable conditions which forced them to run away and find work elsewhere. Society in general still viewed the family, whether biological, adopted, or assigned, as the responsible body for governing delinquent youth (Donovan, 1967, chap. 6; Hawes, 1971, chap. 2; Krisberg & Austin, 1993, chap. 2; Mennel, 1973, intro.).

Beginning in 1790, factories' heavy recruitment for child labor also reduced the opportunity for juvenile delinquency. Children aged 7 and older worked twelve hours daily, often employed alongside their entire family. The economic boom around the turn of the century marked a new respect for youth: they were viewed as productive individuals rather than nonfunctional dependents who only followed their fathers' orders. Such socially constructed importance offered youth freedom, but it also lessened traditional patriarchal authority in the family which many observers feared was the beginning of a social epidemic (Donovan, 1967, pp. 130-148).

The beginning decades of the 1800s were marked by movement from the country towards urban areas, increasing economic problems, and competition for jobs among Irish immigrants. As in Europe, this changing economic base inevitably affected social conditions and youth affairs (Krisberg & Austin, 1993). People began to realize that the commitment of vagrant and juvenile offenders to almshouses and jails was detrimental to child reform, particularly since youth were confined with adults. Juvenile

delinquency became an issue of great concern, and citizens felt the solution lied in the development of institutions. "A system of control would have to be developed apart from the family which would discipline homeless, vagrant, and destitute children...avoid the cruelty of sending children to jail, but...ensure that they were suitably corrected and reformed" (Mennel, 1973, p. xxvii). Wealthier American church members united across denominational lines to discuss policies for dealing with poor children, who were often delinquents too. They began to create rehabilitative and educative institutions like the Orphan Asylum Society, founded in 1807, and the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, formed in 1817 (Cremin, 1980, pp. 443-444). In their attempt to determine the causes of pauperism, these philanthropists continually found themselves addressing juvenile delinquency too: "To them a juvenile delinquent was a young person (under twenty-one) who had broken the law, or who wandered about the streets, neither in school nor at work and who obviously lacked a 'good' home and family" (Hawes, 1971, pp. 32-3). Additionally, they realized that most adult paupers or criminals were probably delinquents during their youth and that preventing wayward children from becoming nonproductive adult citizens was in society's best interest.

Just a few years later, in 1825, members of the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism formed The New York House of Refuge - the first of numerous **houses of refuge** that wealthy individuals would develop in major seacoast cities between 1825 and 1860 (Cremin, 1980, p. 443; Hawes, 1971, chap. 3; Krisberg & Austin, 1993, pp. 15-21; Mennel, 1973, chap. 1). These institutions were viewed as preventive and accepted delinquent, dependent, and neglected children in the hope of providing them instruction that their parents failed to successfully furnish. Blacks, newly arrived immigrants, and girls received limited attention due to segregation laws and prejudiced disbeliefs that reform could help them. In the houses of refuge, the youths faced continual activities, many of which related to work, and all of which were highly regimented. They were also subjected to corporal punishment despite the founding philosophy that the houses were to provide refuge and kindness that in turn would propel reform. "Their general purpose was to save children from lives of crime by inculcating them with middle-class values - neatness, diligence, punctuality, and thrift...education meant the learning of proper behavior" (Mennel,

1973, p. 18). A youth often stayed in a house of refuge until s/he was no longer a minor or was placed into an apprenticeship.

Although reformers were proud to advertise the success of these houses and similar institutions, delinquency was not disappearing. Donovan's Wild Kids (1967, chap. 7) and Hawes' Children in Urban Society (1971, chap. 8) describe how during the latter half of the 19th century great influxes of poor European immigrants crowded into cities like Manhattan, creating slums that easily fostered delinquent behavior. Inadequate schools, squalid tenements, and families "broken" by parents trying to work for survival were a few of the causes of the rising class of rowdy juveniles. Adults who were often illiterate and had difficulty adjusting to New World customs turned to crime, drinking, and fighting, adding to an environment that was not conducive to healthy child development. A New York Times editorial entitled "Where Crime Is Bred" even attributed youthful lawbreaking to slum conditions (in Hawes, 1971, p. 130). Youth crime (particularly theft and vandalism) increased, as did prostitution, homelessness, drinking, and gang rioting.

Against this bleak backdrop, debates arose around the efficacy of the harsh punishment tactics employed in the houses of refuge and similar institutions. Although organized as custodial institutions with professed rehabilitative, or educative, aspirations, "the tension between such aspirations and the realities of custodianship was manifest from the beginning" (Cremin, 1977, p. 47). Active reformers realized the need for a greater understanding of juvenile reform and visited Europe where institutions had become more holistic and comprehensive. The result was a new rise of **reform schools and child-saving agencies** that developed between 1850-1890 (Fine & Mechling, 1993, pp. 3-4; Hawes, 1971, chaps. 5,6,7,9; Krisberg & Austin, 1993, pp. 21-6; Mennel, 1973, chap. 2). In contrast to refuge philosophy, philanthropists began viewing delinquents, in large part, as victims of a wretched environment who were not simply acting on innate adolescent tendencies or wickedness. Furthermore, they worried that if the urban masses living in poverty were not attended to, they would continue to pose increasing danger to the stability of America. Their concern led to the founding of new institutions like the Children's Mission to the Children of the Destitute, the Five Points Mission, the New York Juvenile Asylum, and the New York Children's Aid Society. Some of these agencies developed "placing-out" - a practice based on the traditional belief that

family rather than institutions was the best reform, and that if the environment changed, so too would the children. Thus, child-savers would collect vagrant and destitute slum children from cities, board trains heading West, and give them to farm families along the way. Others believed that reform should occur prior to "placing-out" so they developed reform schools such as the Juvenile Asylum wherein school and other work was stressed.

Municipal and state governments joined the private organizations in their plight to help poor and delinquent children. They set aside monies to establish reform schools aimed at incorporating formal education into the change process. The first of these fully state-supported institutions for juvenile delinquents was the Massachusetts State Reform School for Boys which formed in 1847. "By 1890 nearly every state outside of the South had some type of reform school for boys and often a separate institution for girls" (Mennel, 1973, p. 49). Many were similar in operation to houses of refuge, with the exception of added schooling activities, but states like Massachusetts and Ohio implemented the cottage or family system. This was a more fragmented system that clustered youth into tiny "families" which focused more on agricultural labor than industrial trades. In places like the New York State Reformatory, emphasis shifted from hoping for spiritual reformation through silence and penitence towards recognizing behavioral changes in juveniles. This innovative approach signified a major change in treatment philosophy.

The Civil War, industrialization, and post-war inflation all imposed financial difficulties on refuges and reform schools. They needed to find alternative sources of funding and began to rely heavily on contracts with manufacturers so that profits from youth piece-work assembly could pay for operations. State boards and private associations also formed to assist in the administration of institutions and suggest improvements. "State boards provided the basis for a modern methodological approach to the study of crime, poverty, and delinquency...Their emphasis upon inductive methods of investigations gave them greater understanding of the causal complexity behind impoverished living conditions" (Mennel, 1973, p. 68). Their contributions included: the development of the family visitation system; comprehensive vocational educational programs; different institutions for felons, minor offenders, truants, and homeless youth; and abolishment of the contract labor system.

Other organizations also developed during the late 1800s in an effort to save youth. The Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children fought for laws against child begging and against the housing of adult offenders with juveniles. The Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) first opened in 1869; it would be followed by the first Boys Club in 1878 and the Boy Scouts of America in 1910. Many child-savers sought to create organizations that would rival the gangs formed by immigrant children in their attempt to fit in to a new culture. Accordingly, the Boy Scouts and others structured programs for preadolescent and adolescent boys offered a sense of group belonging and fostered positive ties of loyalty (Fine & Mechling, 1993, pp. 3-4).

The turn of the century brought changes in **institutional care**, reforms in public and private organizations, and most significantly, the development of the juvenile court system. Scientific schools of thought were advancing, and European treatment modalities greatly influenced programs in the states. By 1900, "both psychology and criminology were a part of American social science" (Hawes, 1971, p. 201). Social Darwinism shaped child and educational psychology while Stanley Hall's concept of adolescent needs shaped youth service organizations. America also adopted the English tradition of settlement houses. Cremin (1977) summarizes the era:

> Beginning with Stanton Coit's organization of the Neighborhood Guild on New York's Lower East Side in 1886, the social settlement emerged across the country as a privately sponsored, quasi-public, social service agency, committed to the development of new methods of alleviating the appalling effects of poverty. Out of the settlement came an array of institutional innovations, all of them involving education and rehabilitation in one way or another - the visiting nurse, the visiting teacher, the child guidance clinic, the child-care center, the community recreation center, and the senior citizens' center. Out of the social settlement, too, came a new educational profession, social work. Contemporaneously, the juvenile court and its appended apparatus of probation officers and reformatories won gradual acceptance across the country, while asylums, almshouses, and penitentiaries under public sponsorship became common. (p. 104)

Other developments around 1900 included efforts by public school systems to establish parental or truant schools for difficult students; a National Conference on the Education of Truant, Backward, Dependent and Delinquent Children; and numerous reforms opposing institutionalization and allowing youth to remain with their families (e.g., probation legislation, widows' pensions, mothers' aid) (Mennel, 1973, chap. 4).

The **juvenile court** was created in Chicago in 1899 in order to create an environment different from adult court where the judge could speak to delinquent and dependent children. Many were foreign

born, and like those of other major cities, they faced serious problems such as vagrancy, dangerous labor conditions, crime, assimilation difficulties, and crowded schools. Advocates like the Chicago Women's Club argued that juveniles should not be treated under the same penal codes used for adults, and ultimately they succeeded in establishing a juvenile delinquent system which utilized probation officers, regulated and inspected child placements, and incorporated children's welfare into its deliberations (Hawes, 1971, chap. 10; Krisberg & Austin, 1993, pp. 30-5; Mennel, 1973, chap. 5). Most significant was its philosophy: To deal on an individual basis with every juvenile delinquent. Within a decade, the idea spread rapidly throughout the states and by 1925 all but 2 states would have special courts for children. Of particular assistance to the promotion of the court's popularity was the advocacy of William Healy. As President of the Juvenile Protective League, he researched the roots of delinquency and attributed misconduct to an adolescent's "mental conflict". His scientific approach complemented the rationalism that each delinquent had complex issues which needed to be dealt with on a singular basis.

Unfortunately, the years to come would bring problems to the ideal and well meaning juvenile court system. Many jurisdictions did not establish completely separate and effective child court procedures. A 1927 study found that numerous children were in detention homes and county jails - illegal holding mechanisms. Courts were overburdened and had to limit the amount of time spent hearing each case. Child welfare workers and the family court, two systems which were supposed to assist and reduce the load of the system, did little to ameliorate the situation. Additionally, the roaring twenties, a wild era for adults, marked continued delinquent behavior on behalf of youths. Now delinquency was not only prevalent among slum children but also among the higher classes as immorality and defiance of authority were en vogue. "Flaming Youth" is how Donovan (1967, chap. 8) describes these youngsters.

The **Depression** affected juvenile delinquency in that hard times provoked many youth to leave home and seek work. Due to increases in homelessness, begging and gang activity also became prevalent as wandering groups of juvenile bonded together for survival. Overall, apathy pervaded this generation (Donovan, 1967, chap. 9). The Civilian Conservation Corps developed in 1933 in an attempt to correct juvenile transiency by offering work to boys under the age of 21. Unfortunately, it did not seem to have great effect. More successful was the Chicago Area Project which focused on local mobilization of citizens

to combat the problems of the modern city. Other agencies attempted to redirect members of gangs by sending workers into communities to establish one-to-one contacts. Despite numerous nationwide efforts, the issue of juvenile delinquency over the next two decades did not become any simpler.

At the National Conference of Juvenile Agencies in 1934, one training school president expressed his frustration with the system as such: "Progress will not come from the theorists and institutional agencies working separately, but from their sympathetic cooperative efforts in directing all of our social forces and agencies toward a common goal" (Coulter, 1934, p. 2). He further stated that "nature, habit and environment form a cast not easily remolded" (p. 2). Although confusion and disappointment over the problem of delinquency continued, the causes were not unknown. At one Mississippi school, 86% of its delinquents came from broken homes; the feeling was that in "back of every delinquent child is a delinquent home and a defaulting community" (Coulter, 1934, p. 4). Reformers and specialists were becoming familiar with who at-risk youth were and what caused their situations. Statistics demonstrated that "the greatest proportion of delinquency comes from the 'less chance boys'" (Coulter, 1934, p. 5). In another presentation at the same national conference, a representative of the Texas Child Welfare Board addressed how communities create delinquents, attributing great blame to defective family life and urbanization (Greenhill, 1934). Not unlike our current decade, she discussed how the lack of proper recreational facilities, conditions in the slums, ailing educational and guidance systems, and inadequacies in the juvenile court system all served as testimony to a deteriorating social order in need of reconstruction. In spite of general opinion that boys and girls were not born bad and that certain environmental conditions contributed to delinquency, controversy still persisted around what the most effective solutions and preventions should be. A panel discussion on "What Can Communities Do To Prevent Delinquency" (Bastin, 1934) highlighted the variety of feelings among church, school, and court officials; they expressed diverse viewpoints about the roles that the church, community centers, boys and girls clubs, etc. should take in attacking delinquency.

By midcentury, many themes complicated discussion on juvenile delinquency. Among them was the realization of racial, ethnic, and class discrimination, as revealed by disturbing facts about who the delinquents were in this country. Data exposed how the well-being of children related directly to

economic, social, and environmental factors (see Appendix A). Consequently, the Midcentury White House Conference on Children and Youth focused "its concern for children on the primacy of spiritual values, democratic practice, and the dignity and worth of every individual" (Technical Committee on Fact Finding, 1951, p. 2). Topics included the most recent research on "what makes a healthy personality", the effects of prejudice and segregation, economic factors affecting child and family development, and cultural considerations for social institutions. Youth participation in planning programs was also encouraged. The "next steps" that resulted seem similar to those still needed today: better use of resources, stronger financial and administrative bases for programs, central planning, more effective techniques for action, an intensified attack on discrimination, preventive programs to curtail juvenile delinquency, aid for children of migratory workers, better family life, strengthening of spiritual values, an assured base of economic support for every child, and more research (Crosby, 1952, pp. 31-2).

President Johnson's war on poverty affected juvenile delinquency by creating social service organizations targeted to benefit youth. The Economic Opportunity Act "specifically provided for job training under a Neighborhood Youth Corps and a Job Corps, an adult basic education program,...and an Upward Bound Program to help promising low-income high school student prepare for entry into higher education" (Cremin, 1988, p. 316). Head Start was introduced in 1965 as a method to enrich the educational potential of young children from lower-class homes. Psychological approaches to treatment were introduced in the California Youth Authority (CYA), an administrative authority which determined correctional placements for young offenders between 16-21. Community-based correctional facilities also developed as alternatives to the overburdened conventional systems. In the private sector, the Ford Foundation became instrumental as it devoted large amounts of money to projects dealing with delinquency and poverty. Two examples were the Mobilization for Youth project (serving New York City's Lower East Side) and the Harlem Youth Opportunities Unlimited Act (serving the black community of Harlem). Both aimed to empower poor communities, and they were joined in the 1970s by numerous other self-help efforts such as the Youth Service Bureaus. Few however produced significant results. The juvenile justice system continued to undergo reforms and conservative methodology effected stricter punishments and increases in the number of facilities. By the 1980s, the overall number of incarcerated youth was

increasing, but minority youth constituted disproportionate percentages of the totals (Krisberg & Austin, 1993, pp. 42-51).

Perhaps the best way to close a chapter on the history of juvenile delinquency and child saving is to present 2 questions to provoke further thought. Hopefully these will cause one to reflect on how current issues, explained in the next chapter, seem to be outgrowths of conditions which have endured through time.

1. "Rather than 'explain' something as a 'persistence from the past,' we ought to ask, 'why has it persisted?'" (Mills, 1959, p. 154)
2. Is this really the wildest generation? And, "if this is not,...why are juvenile arrests reaching new peaks, and increasing faster than total arrests?" (Donovan, 1967, p. 280)

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THE STATUS OF YOUTH TODAY

"No one is 'outside society'; The question is where each stands within it."
- C. Wright Mills (1959, p. 184)

While historical trends can help one understand the present, no discussion of any youth-related issue would be complete without highlighting their current situation. Unfortunately, it is not appealing. Many at-risk youth who are the foci of mentoring programs live in inner cities where stressful conditions foster an environment that is anything but conducive to healthy human development. Furthermore, discussions regarding inner city youth often become discussions about minority youth (e.g., Asian-Americans, African-Americans, Latinos, and Native Americans). Why? Although the total number of urban poor is split between blacks, hispanics, and whites, blacks and hispanics have much higher concentrations of their poor (see Appendix B). The result is entire portions of cities that contain almost exclusively poor minorities. Wilson (1987) refers to this social transformation as "concentration effects" wherein the most disadvantaged segments of the population wind up living in an environment that is psychologically, socially, and physically debilitating. According to Hollingshead's Index of social positions, 73-75% of minority youth are in the lower socio-economic class (National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges, 1990). Youth from these groups suffer the most developmental damage because they do not receive the same chances as many of their white counterparts (see Appendix C). The cycle leads observers like Cornel West (1993) to sadly, but realistically, ask:

> Ought we to be surprised that black youths isolated from the labor market, marginalized by decrepit urban schools, devalued by alienating ideals of Euro-American beauty, and targeted by an unprecedented drug invasion exhibit high rates of crime and teenage pregnancy? (p. 56)

The isolation of urban areas is not new. Even in 1943, as William Foote Whyte observed an Italian slum, he commented that the people did not "fit in" with the surrounding society because they were deprived of opportunities to do so. He discovered that "bathtubs are rare, that children overrun the narrow and neglected streets, that the juvenile delinquency rate is high, that crime is prevalent among adults, and that a large proportion of the population was on home relief" (pp. xvii-xviii). Although he made these observations half a century ago, today's inner cities are not much different as they continue to be cut off

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from mainstream society. In Chaos or Community, Martin Luther King Jr. described the crisis of these "islands of poverty", and Ossie Davis (1989) restates the argument:

> The most unconscionable horror of America's caves does not lie simply in the squalid housing, the woefully inadequate medical facilities (if any exist at all), the shockingly inferior educational facilities, the psychological violence of the environment promoting violent response among the caged, the lack of access to cultural institutions, or the absence of a "job network system" such as those that service communities outside. No, the greatest horror lies in the fact that the purpose of the caves is to contain people within them: they are caverns of exclusion. (pp. 145-146)

Youth are not immune to the stigma attached to their neighborhoods. They know that they are called 'at-risk' kids, that their schools are called 'project schools', and that society expects them to fail. The juvenile justice system mirrors society's class and racial prejudices in recent trends (see Appendix D) which reveal practices and procedures falling disproportionately on African-American, Latino, and poor youths (Krisberg & Austin, 1993, chaps. 3,4; National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges, 1990). Due to the poverty, unemployment (see Appendix E), and institutional racism that they face daily, minority youth understandably develop distrust of the police, courts, and government. Their anger subsequently manifests itself in socialization with their own kind and misdirected violence. Drug dealing and other illegal activities provide temporary refuge for these poor youth, as a quote from a young African American male illustrates: "I didn't have to struggle when I was dealing. I felt free from poverty. I told myself I'll never have to struggle like I see other people doing" (Foxx, 1993, p. B4). In reality however, as R.F. Ferguson (1990, p. 1) states in reference to African American males, the current situation causes a "waste of human potential." The words of William Grant, age 18, and Marissa Dicluson, age 15, further exemplify the feelings of inner city youth: "'It seems like white folks want to do away with us.' 'They don't really care about black people'" (in Terry, 1992, p. 14). Another 15-year-old states, referring to adults, "'I can smile and say hi, and they act like I'm not there...If you're black and a young male, that's the first count against you. The second count is that everything is negative'" (in Greene, 1991, p. A8). Even as far back as 1967, inner city youth felt unwanted, a feeling depicted by one male's reflections upon graduating from a Baltimore high school: "'They graduated me but I didn't know anything. I had lousy grades but I guess they wanted to get rid of me'" (Liebow, 1967, p. 55). Sentiments among drop outs and graduates today, almost 30 years later, are frighteningly similar.

One of the main reasons cited for the increasing violence and danger which inner city youth face is the lack of community organizations. Essentially, they are "failing to provide youths with safe and engaging places to spend their time" (Hamburg in Roark, 1992, p. A1). One University of Chicago study found that in a largely white suburban neighborhood, there were more than 3 times as many youth activities offered by public and private organizations as there were in closeby, low-income, predominantly black inner city area. The suburb's public schools offered 7 times as many extracurricular activities, and the public parks provided 8 times as many programs (Roark, 1992). Inner city youth clearly have greater amounts of free, unsupervised time. Use of discretionary time has been directly correlated to circumstances like family background, gender, and neighborhood environment (Medrich, 1991). So when one considers the five domains of out-of-school time use - activities alone or with friends, activities with parents, in-home or out-of home chores, jobs and responsibilities, organized and supervised recreational/cultural activities, and television viewing - it quickly becomes apparent that there are only 2 primary options available for the majority of inner city youth: activities alone or with friends and television viewing. Of course, the repercussions of minimal free-time alternatives are well known. Students involved in organized activities have higher self-esteem, higher grades, higher educational aspirations, lower delinquency rates, and greater sense of control of their lives (Carnegie Council Task Force on Youth, 1993; Medrich, 1991).

Another reason often mentioned for the status of inner city youth today is a lack of role models. The crime, isolation, and hopelessness of ghetto areas drive many middle- and working-class families away. In the case of blacks, for instance, their flight is viewed as weakening the community, church, and educational infrastructure for those blacks remaining in highly concentrated poverty areas. Coleman (1987) refers to people resources as social capital by which norms, networks, and adult-child relationships outside the immediate family provide value for a child's growth. When the social capital, or as Wilson (1987) calls it the social buffer, erodes as it is currently in America's inner cities, children suffer. Consider the vast differences between the numbers of black and white professionals and then imagine if the few black professionals existing would choose to live in urban ghettoes (see Appendix F). The reality is that many of the "models" left in inner cities are gangsters, drug dealers, pimps, homeless individuals; even when

youth look for models in mainstream society, they must search hard to find but few minority professionals (as Appendix F illustrates).

Mincy & Wiener (1990) cite that underclass areas, which are characterized by poverty, unemployment, segregated black or hispanic populations, school dropouts, female-headed households, and unusually large numbers of welfare recipients, cause dysfunctional behavior in part because of contagion effects. The very nature of these areas places youth living in them at-risk for engaging in or perpetuating the behaviors they see around them. The following statistics highlight these circumstances in a manner to which narrative summaries could never do justice.

- 1 out of every 5 kids in the U.S. live in poverty; 1 out of every 2 black children; 2 out of every 5 hispanic children (West, 1993).
- The *New York Times* states that in Central Harlem, the infant death rate is the same as in Malaysia and that among black children in East Harlem, it is even higher (in Kozol, 1991, p. 115).
- 1 in 5 white adolescents (aged 10-17) grows up in a one-parent family. 1 out of 2 black and 1 out of 3 latino adolescents grows up in a one-parent family (1990 census data in Carnegie Council Task Force on Youth, 1993).
- "Two generations ago, half of all American households had at least one adult, in addition to parents, residing there. Today fewer than 1 in 20 do" (Walsh, 1989, p. 8).
- Adolescents who are unsupervised for 11 or more hours a week are twice as likely to become involved with drugs as those who have adult supervision (Roark, 1992).
- Of the nation's more than 20 million adolescents ages 10 to 15, about 10 million are at moderate to serious risk of not reaching their full potential as workers, parents and citizens (Carnegie Report findings in Roark, 1992).
- Among young blacks (16-19 years old) questioned within the past year, 42% said that they felt they didn't have a best friend (West in Horton, 1994).

The above facts demonstrate only some of the detrimental effects of urban ghettoization on today's youth. Much work (Dryfoos, 1990; Garbarino et al., 1992) has been dedicated to explaining how the inner city

contains multiple risk factors which negatively affect child development and often result in delinquent behavior with long term consequences (see Appendices G & H). One approach is the ecological perspective which draws attention to: 1) the interplay of the child as a biological organism within his/her immediate family environment and 2) the interplay of the child within the larger social environment. "It is the coupling of family risk with community violence that makes the inner city such an insidious environment for children" (Garbarino et al., 1992, p. 50). Cornel West (1991) also comments on the current state of affairs by calling it a "lived experience of coping with a life of horrifying meaningless, hopelessness, and (most important) lovelessness" (p. 223). He states that in particular, Black America is facing a nihilistic threat which "results in a numbing detachment from others and a self-destructive disposition toward the world. Life without meaning, hope, and love breeds a coldhearted, mean-spirited outlook that destroys both the individual and others" (p. 223).

Education

In Savage Inequalities (1991), Jonathan Kozol comments on the absolutely appalling, almost unbelievable conditions which children in America's schools face. He pays particular attention to inner city areas where the situation is most bleak and contrasts them to wealthier schools often just a few miles away. He refers to poor public schools as "extraordinarily unhappy places" (p. 5), part of a system which, "perpetuated by state law, too frequently condemns our children to unequal lives" (p. 56). He concludes:

> Social policy in the United States, to the extent that it concerns black children and poor children, has been turned back several decades. But this assertion...is not adequate to speak about the present-day reality in public education. In public schooling, social policy has been turned back almost one hundred years. (p. 4)

Because every page of his book is so alarmingly important, a sampling of Kozol's observations, teachers' feelings, and students' expressions can be found in the appendix (see appendix I).

Other studies of America's public school system also document injustices. Holland states that "it is more than evident that the major victims of the current formulas for educating inner-city children are our male children" (1991, p. 40). His evidence argues that black males are the most harmed. Between 1981 and 1985 in the Wake County Public School System, they attained the lowest average achievement

scores when compared to black females and non-black males and females (Holland, 1991). Findings from the New Orleans Public School System showed that although black males represented 43% of their school population during the 1986-87 academic year, they accounted for 57.5% of the non-promotions, 65% of the suspensions, 80% of expulsions, and 45% of the dropouts (Holland, 1991).

Among all blacks, it is well established that they have higher truancy rates, that their test scores remain the lowest among large ethnic groups, and that the high school dropout rate among young blacks averages twice that of their white peers (Gregory, 1992, March 16). Perhaps most insidious are the barriers to achievement erected by fellow black students. In an article entitled "The Hidden Hurdle", Gregory (1992, March 16) describes the isolation, ridicule, and accusations of "acting white" suffered by black students trying to succeed. One black parent tried to protect his son from such discouraging environments by educating him in schools that were predominantly white. Yet the boy still faced barriers as he endured isolation and cultural invalidation. The father was left to question, "Has anyone in his school environment tuned in to his need to belong? Does anyone really care?" (Chambers, 1992, p. 551).

America's schools are not offering equal opportunities to all children; indeed, Yeakey and Bennett (1991) call this expectation a legend.

> The actual function of the public school - to certify lower-status youngsters as socially inferior at an early age and to initiate the process that kept many of them economically and socially inferior in adulthood - was the reverse of its legendary function (p. 12).

Economic marginality and educational marginality seem to fit together. Extending this point further, since many minorities live in poverty, one might deduce that minority status alone can be a predictor of school success or failure. And in fact, John Ogbu in his article "Minority Status and Literacy in Comparative Perspective" (1990b), does just that. He argues that the curriculum and teaching methods in the U.S. are based on Western ideals to which many minorities, depending on their status and history in the country, can not relate and/or appreciate. "The issue is whether minority children do as well as their white counterparts. They do not" (Ogbu, 1990b, p. 143). Other reports further support arguments linking race with failure in American public schools. Teachers at Dater Junior High in Cincinnati, Ohio will soon be tracked to see if they are unjustly disciplining students through detention and suspension; this measure is

being enacted because of a study which confirmed that the school's black males were twice as likely to be suspended than whites (Hull, 1994).

Certainly the public school system has numerous issues to contend with: rapidly changing demographics, growing numbers of non-English speaking students, poor children living without the psychological or physical supports of stable homes/families, high drop out rates, illiterate graduates, and not least among them, increasing violence on school campuses (see Appendix J). In January of 1994, the National School Boards Association reported that 82% of 729 school districts said violence has increased over the past 5 years. Over 60% reported weapons incidents. According to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 1 in 5 students carries some type of weapon to school. Most surprising was the statistic that 60% of guns brought into Oakland schools are brought into the middle schools, not high schools (Ginsburg, 1994). Violence in public schools is causing a nationwide trend of harsher punishments for those caught with weapons. Some schools are already imposing lifetime expulsions on students wielding weapons, and it is likely that other school boards will be discussing the issue soon (Daly, 1993). How these actions aid students, not to mention society, remains to be seen.

Violence

Violence outside of school has also been an increasing problem. Within the past decade there has been a sharp rise in juvenile (under 18) arrests for violent crimes, while less-serious crime has decreased. The following changes in numbers of arrests were recorded by the U.S. Justice Department (in Sharp, 1993):

Table 1: Change in Number of Juvenile Arrests

Offense	1990	1981	% Change
Murder/manslaughter	2,555	1,742	+47%
Rape	4,628	4,346	+7%
Aggravated assault	51,167	38,135	+34%
Other assault	119,058	81,710	+46%
Carrying weapons	31,999	23,990	+33%
Burglary	112,437	215,387	-48%

Offense	1990	1981	% Change
Forgery	6,760	9,414	-28%
Prostitution, vice	1,281	3,089	-58%
Drug abuse	64,740	100.688	-36%
DUI	15,772	29,957	-47%

Recent studies also demonstrate that:

- 50-60% of crime is being committed by young people between 10 and 20 years of age (Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1992).
- American adolescents between 15-24 are 15 times more likely to die from homicide than youth in England (Hechinger, 1992).
- From 1985 to 1990, homicide deaths among blacks (15-19 years old) increased 111% contrasted by a 41% rise among white youth (Hechinger, 1992).
- In 1991, there were 1,500 homicide arrests in the 13-16 year old age group - almost double the number from 1985. Among 17 year olds, the rate rose 121%. The largest increase was among 15 year olds by 217% (Booher, 1992).

Witnessing all this violence (aside from participating in it) has become almost as common as going to school each day. Researchers at University of Maryland asked 168 inner city teens about their experience with violence: 24% had witnessed a murder and 72% knew somebody who had been shot (Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1992). Even more frightening are the results of interviews conducted in Chicago's Cabrini-Green public housing project. Dr. Garbarino (in Goleman, 1992, December 6) found that by age 5, all of the children he interviewed had either seen a shooting or knew someone who had been involved in one. In other inner cities, he found that by the age of 15, more than 70% of youths interviewed had seen someone beaten.

How does such violence affect inner city youth? Playgrounds have become battlegrounds, and children are consequently displaying psychological attitudes and actions similar to those living in war zones (Booher, 1992; Castro, 1992; Dryfoos, 1990; Garbarino et al., 1992; Goleman, 1992, December 6; Hull, 1992; Kotlowitz, 1991; Traver, 1992). One characteristic that has received much attention is the increase

in gang membership and warfare. The root causes of the phenomenon are not difficult to trace. Youth are afraid to walk through their neighborhoods alone, are often abused by their families, and live in extreme poverty; they feel like they have nothing to live for. Thus, in a desperate searching for life's meaning, love, and acceptance, they join gangs which provide them with a sense of purpose as well as a surrogate family. The bloodshed becomes "a byproduct of an utterly misguided and frantic inner-city search for respect" (Hull, 1992, p. 39). Behind the actions of gang members and non-gang members alike is a shared realization of one's vulnerability at an very young age. Children in inner cities lose their childhood. What replaces it is a fatalistic sense, depression, rage, a tough-to-penetrate "shell", and overall hopelessness. Mental disorders are the major cause of disability among adolescents (10-18), and suicide rates are rising rapidly (Hechinger, 1992). Their bleak sense of hope and power over their own future is reflected in their responses to Dr. Garbarino. When asked what they'll be by age 30, inner city kids responded, "dead". "'Like soldiers who have seen too much combat,' writes the *New York Times*, 'increasing numbers of children in the nation's capital' are beginning to show 'battle fatigue'" (in Kozol, 1991, p. 186).

The Future

One might now ask: What does the future hold for those inner city youth "lucky" enough to become adults? Unfortunately, the future is not much brighter, as conditions which affect youth certainly affect adults too. Authors like Wilson (1987), Jencks (1992), Wacquant & Wilson (1991), Mincy & Wiener (1990), and Liebow (1967) address the economic, social, and psychological issues facing adults who live in highly concentrated, poverty-stricken, urban areas. They present data and personal accounts depicting high unemployment/joblessness, decreasing marriageable pools, female-headed households, high crime, and the cycles of welfare. Most literature deals with contrasts between white and black adults (as in Appendix D), probably because their differences are greater and the relations longstanding.

For example, the second sentence of a plan to provide services to black men in San Francisco states that "the Black man faces a precarious future. On almost every indicator of socio-economic well-being the Black male lags far behind almost every other sex and ethnic group in the country" (Nobles,

Goddard, Cavil, & George, 1988, p. 1). Black men have a lower life expectancy than any other sex or ethnic group; in Harlem, it is shorter than that for men in Bangladesh; for those under 35 years, their chance of suffering from cirrhosis of the liver is 12 times higher than with any other comparable group; a black male has a 1 in 21 chance of being murdered by age 65, compared with a 1 in 104 chance for a black female, a 1 in 131 chance for a white male, and a 1 in 369 chance for a white female; the unemployment ratio for black men has remained double that of white men; and about 1 in 4 black men aged 20-29 is in prison, on probation, or on parole - more than the total number of black men in college (Goleman, 1992, April 22; Nobles et al., 1988).

In the psychological realm, youth growing into adults in the inner city will encounter low self esteem, estrangement from mainstream society, and a likely sense of failure. Although their adult behaviors may be regarded as deviant, they should be "regarded as efforts to attain some sense of valid identity" (Rainwater in Liebow, 1967, p. 215). Liebow says of the Negro streetcorner man: "Armed with models who have failed, convinced of his own worthlessness, illiterate and unskilled, he enters marriage and the job market with the smell of failure all around him" (1967, p. 211). Unquestionably, one can expect that youth who fall through the cracks of the inner city will enter adulthood unprepared, angry, and frustrated by continual failure.

Society's Responses

Fortunately, society has not been blind to the future nor the current status of at-risk youth. Individuals, nonprofit organizations, corporations, and federally and privately funded programs are responding to their needs in a variety of ways. The following chart is just a sampling of innovative approaches being used to help America's youth survive the risks they face (of course, mentoring is one, but will be introduced in the following chapter).

Table 2: A Variety of Youth Service Programs

Title	Sponsor	Location	Purpose	Citation
Girls After School Academy	San Francisco Housing Authority	San Francisco low-income housing	Offer mentoring, cultural, academic support on-site for girls in public housing	SFHA (1993)
Young Black Scholars	Black community, businesses, educators	Los Angeles County public schools	Advise, finance, & tutor black 8th graders so they can qualify for college	Irving (1989)
Hero/Heroine Modeling Intervention	Research on Puerto Rican adolescents	Public school in Brooklyn, NY	19 group sessions to teach 8th & 9th graders about role models; ethnic identity & self concept improved.	Malgady, Rogler, & Costantino (1990)
Community-Based Policing	New Haven Police Dept.	New Haven, Connecticut	Decrease crime by using more foot patrol who can foster relations with gangs & neighborhood	Ryan (1994)
Street Soldiers	KMEL radio station	San Francisco	Call-in radio show for gang members, drug dealers, and affected others to tell stories, get advice	Lewis (1992)
Homework Hotline	McDonnell Douglas Corp, Citicorp, KPLR -TV, Missouri Nat'l Education Association	St. Louis, but serving other parts of Illinois & Missouri	Call-in radio show to coach students through homework problems, emphasize importance of school; volunteers are retired teachers & McDonnell Douglas science specialists	Evans (1992)
Book It!	Pizza Hut Inc., public schools	Kansas	Improve reading skills & attitudes by giving children reading goals, award them with pizza and recognition	Evans (1992)
Responsive Fathers Program	Public/Private Ventures (nonprofit in public policy)	Philadelphia	Provide intensive guidance and job skills to young, unwed fathers so they can be responsible for kids	Lurie (1992); Gregory (1992, Au)
A City's Focus on Core Competence	Educators, parents, companies	Rochester, NY	Build community's future by reforming schools, encouraging school-business collaboration	Gabor (1991); Evans (1992)
Black colleges link with communities	Quality Education for Minorities Network	6 East Coast, historically black universities	Establish community ctrs in housing projects & black colleges to help children with health, social issues	Henry (1993)

Title	Sponsor	Location	Purpose	Citation
Midnight Basketball League (MBL)	National Association of MBLs	44 cities in U.S.	Provide safe athletics for youth to channel their aggression btw 10pm-2am	Callahan (1994)
Black Women's Resource Center	Black Women Organized for Political Action (nonprofit)	Oakland	Successful black women help others thru referrals, support groups, training seminars, mentors	Cutler (1990)
Inroads	Inroads, Inc. (national organization)	39 cities in U.S.	Finds minority h.s. students, links them with corporate sponsors, guides them through college	Dickson (1992)
Community Youth Creative Learning Experience	LaSalle St. Church was founder; now, is own agency	Cabrini-Green Housing Project, Chicago	After-school program matches h.s. students with younger peers; at night, h.s. students receive help from community professionals	Irby (1991)
Project HELP (Hartford Early Learning Partnership)	The Travelers Companies, University of Hartford, Hartford Public Schools	Hartford, Connecticut	Accelerate learning & skill development for kindergarten kids living in a public housing project; uses computer-based & other non-traditional learning	Fried (1989)
Beethoven Project	U.S. Dept. of Health & Human Svs, former CEO	Chicago	Aims to promote health & growth of children before birth to 5 yrs thru family-oriented intervention	Fried (1989)
Phillips Tender Loving Care (pilot of Success by Six)	United Way, Honeywell, educators, county/state	Minneapolis	Support parents by linking them to health & human svs during pregnancy and infant's first year	Fried (1989)
Apprenticeship Programs	Public schools, Retail & Banking Corporations	Throughout U.S. (e.g., with Kroger Co, Salomon Brothers, etc.)	Offer grade school thru h.s. students job training, internships, and overall preparation for work	Deutsch-man (1992); Evans (1992)
Charles D. Smith Jr. Foundation Education Ctr.	Charles D. Smith Jr. (NY Knicks player)	Bridgeport, Connecticut	Offer after school program for inner city kids, K-12: do HW, work on computers, get help, play games, etc.	Fitzpatrick (1993)
Town Hall Meeting for h.s. students	Funds for the Community's Future (volunteers)	Southeast Washington, D.C.	Provide panel forum for students to talk to teachers, community, peers about drugs/media/mentors	Thompson (1993)

Title	Sponsor	Location	Purpose	Citation
"Invisible Men"	Harvard Business School, Harvard's Pres., student	Harvard	Produce & disseminate, to public schools & colleges, a video documentary of successful young black professionals	Davis (1993)
Always on Saturdays	Hartford Action Plan, individual	Hartford, Connecticut	Prevent teen pregnancy by teaching life skills to black males (9-13) from single-parent, low-income homes.	Ferguson, R.F. (1990)
Racial Tolerance Mentoring Project	People for the American Way, Time Warner Inc.	Los Angeles (in NC, similar prgm is NCSTAR)	Utilize college & university students to lead classroom discussions about racial tolerance in high schools	People for American Way (1992)

THE STATUS OF YOUTH TODAY
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Children's Defense Fund. (1994). The state of America's children: Yearbook 1994. Washington, DC: Author.
Excellent, up-to-date resource on the most important issues facing youth. Chapters address family incomes, health, families in crisis, child care, early childhood development, housing and homelessness, hunger and nutrition, adolescent pregnancy, and violence. Great deal of statistical information, easy to read graphs, tables, and charts.

Dryfoos, J.G. (1990). Adolescents at risk: Prevalence and prevention. New York: Oxford University.
Thorough, documented report on high-risk behaviors among adolescents, prevention strategies that have succeeded and failed, and recommendations for a future strategy of preventing high-risk behavior. Behaviors highlighted are delinquency, substance abuse, teen pregnancy, and school failure.

Garbarino, J., Dubrow, N., Kostelny, K., & Pardo, C. (1992). Children in danger. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
Full account of the violence in America's inner cities and how it affects the lives of children. Compares the dangers and consequences to those suffered by youth living in war zones. Explains children's coping mechanisms and factors which successfully foster resiliency.

Hechinger, F.M. (1992, April). Fateful choices: Healthy youth for the 21st century. [Executive summary]. (Available from Carnegie Corporation of New York, 437 Madison Avenue, New York, NY, 10022) (Hardback edition - New York: Hill and Wang) (Softcover - available free of charge from Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, P.O. Box 753, Waldorf, Maryland, 20604).
Draws on recent Carnegie Council research and other reports to present the state of adolescent health in the U.S. and the roles that must be taken by government, health services, education, youth programs, etc. to improve the situation. Attributes intensifying health conditions to high risk urban environments. Executive summary states main themes and recommendations of book.

Kotlowitz, A. (1991). There are no children here. New York: Doubleday.
A true story that describes inner city life through the experiences of two brothers. Few details are spared as Kotlowitz presents the daily fears, struggles, and feelings of the boys, their family, and their friends. Heightens awareness of "the other America". Unforgettable.

Kozol, J. (1991). Savage inequalities: Children in America's schools. New York: Crown.
Considered one of the most important critiques of the current educational system. Offers context with which to understand conditions (e.g., health, environment, violence, housing) facing inner city youth. Describes in detail the state of schools between 1988-1990 in 6 cities around the U.S.; contrasts poorest school districts with wealthiest. Appalling.

Krisberg, B. & Austin, J.F. (1993). Reinventing juvenile justice. Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
Presents recent data regarding the juvenile justice system, how it handles youth according to gender and race, and how it seems to fall short of fulfilling its original goals. Analyzes effective systems for working with juvenile offenders and offers suggestions for reinventing the system.

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Studies how much time adolescents commit to particular activities and what activities they engage in. Data highlight impact of family background, gender, and neighborhood. Offers suggestions for youth services and further research.

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Contrasts alleged theory of the culture of poverty by presenting socio-structural phenomena (e.g., joblessness, economic exclusion, etc.) that have triggered hyperghettoization and the "underclass". Includes statistics and tables.

Wilson, W.J. (1987). The truly disadvantaged: The inner city, the underclass, and public policy. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
Required reading for anyone trying to understand the causes and conditions of America's growing underclass. Attention to social, economic, and family changes both within and outside inner cities. Large discussion of public policy recommendations and solutions.

Yeakey, C.C. & Bennett, C.T. (1991, January). The legend of school as the key to equality. The Journal of Negro Education, pp. 12-16.
Brief, but crucial article highlighting the crisis of the American education system, particularly as it fails youth of low socioeconomic status. Debunks the legend that school provides equal opportunities for all youth.

MENTORING

"The greatest need of young people today is not another program, but another caring, loving human being."
- Norman Brown, Kellogg Foundation (in Freedman, 1993, p. 20)

History & Definitions

It is well established that mentoring is a concept that has emerged from the past (Ferguson, M., 1993; Flaxman, 1991; Freedman, 1993; Wilson & Danes, 1988). The word itself comes from Greek mythology where Mentor was the friend and advisor to Odysseus as well as the teacher of his son Telemachus. Odysseus asked Mentor to teach his son "what was in books as well as the 'wiles of the world'" (Wilson & Danes, 1988, p. 8). Ancient Greeks also used mentoring "as a tool for talent development where the student (protege) was placed under the tutelage of a teacher (mentor)" (Adams, 1992, p. 1). Margaret Mahoney (1991) points out that "in the Bible, Saul was the mentor of David, as was Naomi of Ruth" (p. 4). Regarding its history in the U.S., mentoring services can be traced back to the 1880s when the Friendly Visitor program, in response to a growing chasm between social classes, enlisted volunteers to visit poor people. Then, at the turn of the century, Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America (BB/BSA) attempted the first "planned mentoring" service for at-risk youth. This structured, programmatic effort contrasted with the traditional, accidental process of "natural mentoring", although it was founded on the same principle: that youth benefitted from relationships with wiser, older adults. Planned mentoring today is used in numerous capacities such as the business world, university graduate studies, nursing, and other skilled professions (see Appendix K). The focus of this paper, however, will be on mentoring as it is utilized as an intervention for at-risk youth.

What exactly is mentoring? Many researchers and programs have their own style of defining the term, but the essence of it is summarized in the following explanation:

> A supportive relationship between a youth or young adult and someone more senior in age and experience, who offers support, guidance, and concrete assistance as the younger partner goes through a difficult period, enters a new area of experience, takes on an important task, or corrects an earlier problem. In general during mentoring, mentees identify with, or form a strong interpersonal attachment to, their mentors; as a result, they become able to do for themselves what their mentors have done for them. (Flaxman, Ascher, & Harrington, 1988, p. ii)

It is an "enabling experience" (Flaxman, 1991, p. 16) in which a caring adult's direct, personal contact fosters a young person's, or mentee's, development by "believing in him, sharing the youthful Dream and giving it his blessing, helping to define the newly emerging self" (Levinson, 1978, p. 99). In addition, mentoring is simple (it focuses on the needs of one youngster), legitimate (it is a sanctioned activity that has been passed down throughout history), bounded (it has emotional limits in that it does not ask mentors to adopt mentees), and plastic (it accommodates various personalities and allows for flexibility) (Freedman, 1993, pp. 56-58).

Although often confused, the term 'mentor' is distinguished from 'role model'. Consider the following definitions put forth by Adams (1992, p. 1):

> •Mentor - teacher or advisor; one who leads through guidance. The mentor *pushes* the protege forward by providing support and guidance.
>
> •Role Model - a person whose behavior in a particular role is imitated by others; one who leads through positive examples. A role model *pulls* the protege forward by setting positive examples.

Essentially, being a role model, or exemplar, can be considered one of the roles of a mentor, although a mentor cannot "make" him/herself a role model. This function depends largely on the quality of the relationship, and the desire on behalf of a youth to emulate the mentor. There are other roles as well (Hamilton & Hamilton, 1990; IUME, 1992, August):

> •Teacher - the mentor instructs or demonstrates a skill, imparts knowledge, coaches, and/or expands the mentee's horizons; the mentor can enhance skills and intellectual development.
>
> •Challenger/Advisor - the mentor challenges the mentee by urging him/her to set goals, plan for their fulfillment, and pay attention to any discrepancies between goals and performance; the mentor motivates the youth to look towards the future.
>
> •Supporter - the mentor provides moral support through concern, encouragement, and respect, and also instrumental support through resources, explanations, and advice.
>
> •Companion - the mentor is an alternative to peers and family members, someone with whom the youth can spend time, talk to, and engage in activities.

Depending on various conditions such as the needs of a youth, the assets of the mentor, and the context of their relationship, these roles can be interchanged.

In the opinion of Martin Jacks, Executive Director of The Mentoring Center (personal communication, November 11, 1992), mentoring involves the notion of parenting. He views the mentoring relationship as a compensating mechanism for the "seed planting" that parents have failed to do. Jacks equates this planting with the teaching of morals and ethics, but warns mentors that they may not be around in the future to see the seeds sprout; they must trust that it will happen. As transitional figures, mentors can be considered "compensatory adults". Implicit in their temporariness is the stark reality that mentoring is not the cure-all panacea for serving at-risk youth. "It is not a social policy that will address the underlying socioeconomic, systemic, structural roots of disadvantage in our society" (Benard, 1992, p. 20). Rather it is a modest intervention, an important "step in the right direction, one that highlights an unmet need, goes part of the way toward redressing it, and calls out for reinforcements" (Freedman, 1993, p. 110).

Methodology: Meeting Youth Needs

Most mentoring programs attempt to reach youth between the ages of 10 and 17. The specific services, goals, and objectives of each program dictate what age range within these years they will target. For instance, if a program matches professional women with girls to provide career counseling, then the ages targeted by the program would be within high school range. Likewise, if programs wish to prevent high risk behaviors like substance abuse, or build youths' self esteem before they dropout of school and/or enter the juvenile justice system, they will seek to establish mentoring relationships at much earlier ages.

The determination of how old mentees should be in order to obtain maximum benefits from certain services is largely grounded in developmental theory pertaining to adolescence. Adolescence is no longer thought of as one large stage between 10 and 20 years wherein every youth faces the same struggles at the same time. On the contrary, researchers have recognized that there are primarily three distinct stages of adolescent development: early adolescence (10-14), middle adolescence (15-17), and late adolescence (18+). Within these categories however, mentoring programs are aware of the fact that development is

highly individualistic, and that among other issues, a youth's experiences, environment, and family are unique characteristics which highly impact maturation. Furthermore, there are certain themes that recur throughout all adolescent stages - identity, autonomy, achievement, and intimacy, as well as certain roles that adolescents continue to struggle with - such as being a family member, student, and community resident. During all stages of adolescence, youth try to differentiate themselves from their parents (Galbo, 1986 in Hendry, Roberts, Glendinning, & Coleman, 1992), thereby relying more heavily on non-parental adults. Finally, mentors remember that most youths pass through this period with gradual rather than tumultuous change (Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1990; Greenberg, Siegel, & Leitch, 1983; Hamburg, 1990; Simmons, Black, & Zhou, 1991).

Since many mentoring programs try to serve youth most at-risk for not entering adulthood with the necessary skills to lead a healthy, productive life, it becomes critical for them to understand what occurs during early adolescence. Even programs that serve middle- or late-aged adolescents have a stake in understanding that which transpires early on; sometimes, they may find themselves having to rework with their youths the habits, attitudes, or emotions that developed during an earlier stage. Early adolescence has been called a crucial period in which decisions about independence, trust, and self worth impact youth greatly (O'Brien, 1990). It is a time when youth are "still moving, erratically, in and out of the world of childhood and groping for guidelines to define their new status" (Hamburg, 1990, p. 7). They face challenges of puberty, entry into the new social system of junior high, and new roles within family, school, and society. Experimentation with different behaviors, insecurity about their own values, and scanning for models from whom they can learn are common activities during this period (Hamburg, 1990). Many of these issues extend into the later stages of adolescence.

Research shows that for youth with prior adverse experiences, negotiation of early adolescence becomes more problematic, poses greater stress, and often has immediate consequences of school dropout, drug abuse, inappropriate pregnancy, and suicide (Hamburg, 1990; Mincy & Wiener, 1990; Flaxman, 1991). Sadly, the result of many inner city climates, which expose children to hostile circumstances at extremely early ages, has been a lowering of the minimum age that marks entry into early adolescence. Some researchers now consider age 9 the point at which early adolescence can begin (Carnegie Council

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Task Force on Youth Development, 1993). Race and gender also affect the way in which youth deal with issues. Simmons et al. (1991) investigated differences between black and white children as they transitioned from elementary to junior high school. The general difference between black males and other children became clear: in both grades 6 and 7, black males demonstrated more problem behavior (i.e., liking of school decreased, Grade Point Average dropped, incidents of probation and suspension from school increased), showed more heterosexual dating behavior and interest, thought more positively about being a member of their own gender, and cared more about sports, height, and body build. The authors concluded that "where there are greater difficulties for blacks than for whites, the possible role of institutional bias and racism cannot be ignored" (Simmons et al., 1991, p. 505). The main point is that each youth handles early adolescence differently.

Hence, mentoring programs serving adolescents operate according to methodology that best meets youth needs. They hope that by doing so they will either prevent high risk behaviors from occurring or address them early on to reverse negative effects and prevent failure in adulthood (see Appendix L). Due to the reality that early adolescence poses the first and sometimes greatest challenges, mentors must be sensitive to needs that surface during this stage. The following is a summary of some of those needs (Carnegie Corporation of New York, 1990; Carnegie Council Task Force on Youth Development, 1993; Hamburg, 1990; Shoup, 1981).

1. Young adolescents require opportunities to form secure and stable relationships with caring adults and peers as a foundation for developing personal and work-related skills, perseverance, and values.
2. Young adolescents benefit from learning critical skills such as goal setting, problem solving, decision making, and resisting negative peer influences.
3. Young adolescents want to learn about and serve their communities.
4. Young adolescents seek to be competent individuals, to be members of valued groups, and to be recognized for their accomplishments.
5. Young adolescents vary enormously in physical, mental, and emotional maturity and capability.
6. Young adolescents need to learn how to control their lives through conscious decision-making.

7. Young adolescents need a distinct feeling of present importance, of relevancy in their lives.

8. Young adolescents need to experience a wide variety of intellectual, affective, emotional, and role experiences.

9. Young adolescents are newly aware of the intensity of life and need to believe in a promising future.

10. Young adolescents experience heightened salience of social interactions, particularly peer relationships, and they need to feel like valued members of a group.

It becomes clear why mentoring programs which establish bonds early between youths and mentors often try to develop a variety of skills among each adult volunteer. Some call this multi-faceted attempt "life skills training". It teaches mentors about issues of social competence, cognitive development and achievement, motivation, decision-making, and social support; it explains how their presence or absence has utmost consequence for youths' later life adjustment and success. Although mentoring programs which establish bonds with slightly older adolescents may have more specific, task-oriented priorities (e.g., career counseling, high school achievement), the same principles apply. Middle adolescence, for instance, is characterized by increasing autonomy and further discovery of self leading to clearer identity formation; once again, these are outgrowths from changes and experiences that start in early adolescence but continue through the later stages, either being resolved or intensifying. The challenge of mentoring lies herein: youth need to have a solid foundation of "life skills" before they can focus on more specific competencies, but programs which do not reach youths until middle or late adolescence face the immediate task of developing competencies while also trying to restructure the foundation.

Thus far, the youth needs mentioned have been grounded in developmental research regarding adolescence. There have been attempts to find out from youth directly what they need, how they feel about adults, and what they expect from mentoring and other types of programs. Unfortunately, few studies have been undertaken, but those that have and are presented here definitely support more formal research which stresses the value of 1:1 relationships (as presented in the following chapter). Even popular magazines and newspapers occasionally report on individual youths who have succeeded despite the odds (i.e., despite the risks posed by inner city conditions) (Lewis, 1993, March 7; Monroe, 1992; Ryan, 1993, December 26),

and each story mentions the positive impact of at least one caring adult in a youth's life. Mentoring programs consider such accounts, as well as the results of youth surveys presented below, as testimony to the power of linking adults in 1:1 relationships with youth.

USA TODAY and CNN commissioned a nationwide Gallup poll which found that 51% of 803 teens, aged 13-17, didn't have someone they admire and want to be like (Peterson, 1993). In another study undertaken by the Carnegie Corporation, adolescents responded to a question about what they wanted most during their non-school hours. Among other replies, they wished for "long talks with trusting and trustworthy adults who know a lot about the world and who like young people." (Roark, 1992)

Hendry et al. (1992) conducted an investigation of 180 adolescents aged 11-12, and 180 adolescents aged 15-16, to determine perceptions of significant individuals in their lives. Well over half of the sample (59%) stated on a questionnaire that the most valued quality in non-family members was a belief in the young person. They also valued unrelated adults who were enablers (helped them understand things and introduced them to new experiences), teachers (taught them how to do things by demonstration and passed on knowledge), and role models (represented someone they would like to turn out as and someone who behaved toward others in a manner they admired).

Another study interviewed 53 black teenage mothers and their nonparent peers residing in Detroit and Milwaukee. Aside from personal traits and family support, the women who stayed in school cited help from outside their family as a critical motivating factor. The importance of certain teachers, coaches, and other adults who offered individual attention "suggests that providing teenagers with mentoring or some other type of adult relationship...can be a powerful compensation for deficits in other areas of their lives" (Danziger & Farber, 1990, p. 38).

Finally, support for mentoring resulted from 16 focus groups conducted throughout the greater metropolitan Washington, DC area. Participants were male and female, ranged in age from 11-15, and represented several major racial and ethnic groups (White, Black, Central American, and Vietnamese). In describing characteristics of ideal adult leaders, they all cited similar attributes: nice, funny, generous, well-organized, a good listener, a fair and non-discriminatory person, understanding, trusting, respectable, nurturing, a teacher, and enthusiastic about young people's interests (S.W. Morris & Co., 1992). Hence,

the traits of mentors and the services they aim to provide to adolescents are not only founded in developmental research, but on the needs that young people themselves have identified. Youth opinions on the importance of shared race and ethnicity with adults are presented in a later chapter.

Program Operations, Structure, & Goals

As mentoring continues to appeal to individuals, nonprofit organizations, corporations, and public schools as a potentially effective youth service strategy, the literature about various programs, their structure and goals also grows. Most programs have learned that certain processes must be in place in order to provide effective services to their mentees. This notion is confirmed by numerous authors (Benard, 1992; Freedman, 1993; Murray, M., 1991) and research organizations such as Public/Private Ventures (P/PV) (1993) which states: "While the findings on mentoring's effects are still to come [see evaluation section below], our work to date has consistently found that to have a chance of effectiveness, mentoring programs require structure" (p. 1).

Exactly what are the basic operations and structure that characterize potentially successful mentoring programs? Below is a list explaining the recommended elements.

1. Program Mission & Identity: A clear sense of the specific goals and objectives of a program. Mentoring programs which try to serve all ages and all kinds of youth suffer from the lack of a common mission. They must be focused about who their target population is and how they want their mentors to serve them.

2. Staffing: Mentors are not the only ones to comprise mentoring programs. A paid staff is essential to carry out basic procedures, as well as coordinate funding and recruit youth. Program staff provide critical leadership and direction.

3. Volunteer Recruitment: An aggressive, ongoing act of publicizing the existence and needs of a program. Agencies often struggle with recruiting substantial numbers of minority and male volunteers. Examples of some recruitment sources are civic/service clubs, religious institutions, corporations, and educational establishments.

4. Volunteer Screening: A time-consuming, but critical process involving interviews, applications, reference checks, and in some cases, fingerprinting and criminal record inspections.

5. Volunteer Training: Although the quality and duration of this process varies greatly among programs, at least some minimal orientation is usually required. More comprehensive trainings involve various speakers from social and governmental agencies (e.g., Child Protective Service workers, gang experts, child abuse psychologists, etc.) who try to prepare volunteers with resources and knowledge. Training is utilized primarily to educate mentors around effective coping skills so that they will better understand and be prepared to deal with their mentees. Hours of required training can range from 1-2 hour orientations up to 60+ hours. Sometimes orientations are offered to youth and parents too.

6. Matching: The process of pairing volunteers with youth. Cultural or non-cultural criteria may be employed. There are also 8 different strategies of matching. Programs which match one volunteer with one youth use the following methods:

- informal - a meeting where mentors and mentees are both present and "natural gravitation" establishes the match.
- case history - mentors read various case histories of youth and choose the case with which they feel the most comfortable.
- interest inventories - youth and mentors each fill out forms about their interests, and program staff match them together based on similar hobbies, preferences, etc.
- youth/mentor interviews - a concentric circle formation in which volunteers stand in the middle and youth form a circle around them. Youth interview each adult for a few minutes and then move to the next volunteer. At the end, youth choose their mentor.

Programs which permit group mentoring use the following methods:

- couple matching - a couple is encouraged to mentor one or more youth, thereby offering a "parent" effect.

- sibling matches - one volunteer chooses to mentor a group of siblings.
- group home matches - one volunteer mentors a number of youth who reside in the same group home.
- mentor teams - two mentors work together with one youth. This ensures that the required time will be spent with the youth and that different resources and skills will be employed.

7. Ongoing Volunteer Support & Supervision: Once a match is made, program staff try to keep abreast of its development. Sometimes they may contact the youth or his/her parents to check the status of the relationship. Often they encourage mentors to call with problems, questions, and updates. Monthly meetings for mentors are common, as are newsletters and support groups. All offer mentors ongoing training, motivation, and an outlet to discuss experiences, progress, and seek advice.

Within these basic operations, programs also try to suggest ongoing strategies for mentors so that they maintain focus in their relationships. They offer the following advice to mentors: keep a record of activities and developments pertaining to the relationship; develop goals with their mentees; share meaningful, mutually important activities which are fun, educational, and broaden horizons; stay informed of school or work progress; and display dedicated, consistent interest in their youths. Many are also encouraged to maintain some type of weekly contact, whether it be through talking on the phone, engaging in a shared activity, or tutoring after school. Programs realize that mentors have different styles and approaches, and although this flexibility is widely accepted, they still find that providing structure and guidance benefits everyone. Additionally, programs have determined that all successful mentors have some combination of the following attributes so they look for these in all volunteers: kindness, generosity, expertise, knowledge, intelligence, honesty, willingness to engage in activities chosen by and important to youth, reliability, follow-through, self confidence, self esteem, and trustworthiness. Despite individual variation, all mentors are expected to provide personalized attention and care, access to resources, high expectations, and sustained commitment. As the One-On-One Guide for Establishing Mentoring Programs

explains: "What good mentors share is the ability to reach out to children who need support and guidance and to provide them with one-on-one attention for a sustained period of time" (1990, p. 7).

In the same way that mentors and youth are each unique, mentoring programs too have their own distinctive interpretations and approaches about how to best serve youth. What this translates into is a wide spectrum of programmatic goals. It would be impossible to itemize every stated goal of every program. Fortunately however, common bonds tie mentoring programs together in ways that programs themselves may not realize. As the previous section on methodology illustrates, the overarching mission of every mentoring program is to meet the needs of their target youth population. Under such a broad aim, most programs maintain particular objectives about how to accomplish their task. The typology below explains the two primary avenues taken by mentoring programs. It is important to note that these are ideal objectives and primary foci of programs. In reality, there is no such thing as a program solely focused on one objective. Providing youth effectively with either set of faculties (public or private) inevitably means combining both to some extent. The following typology (adapted from Ascher, 1988; IUME, 1992, August; Pittman, 1991) can be useful in facilitating general understanding of mentoring programs' goals.

Table 3: Typology of Mentoring Programs' Objectives

PRIMARY OBJECTIVES: PUBLIC	PRIMARY OBJECTIVES: PRIVATE
relation with society	relation with self, family
meet programmatic/social functioning needs	build intimate relationships
focus on competencies:	focus on basic needs:
health/physical	safety & structure
personal/social	belonging/closeness
vocational skills	self worth
cognitive/creative	control over one's life
citizenship (ethics & participation)	independence
instrumental approach	psychosocial approach
social	psychological
ideal is to make youth more resourceful	ideal is to take care of youth
sharp focus on specific needs	broad focus on transforming character

The next table translates the theoretical objectives above into the practices of actual programs. While there are hundreds of mentoring programs around the country, the following chart only attempts to present a sampling of them.

Table 4: Examples of Mentoring Programs

	Title	Purpose/Goal
PUBLIC	Sister Friend Project - West Sacramento	Provide 1:1 support to pregnant or new mothers in need of emotional support, encouragement, and practical assistance in order to facilitate prenatal health care, drug-free deliveries, & happy mother-child relations
	Filipinos for Affirmative Action - Oakland, CA	Provide immigration services and equal rights advocacy for the Filipino community; provide career planning and cultural awareness for middle school girls
	Court Appointed Special Advocate (CASA) - National Program	Provide adults to youth who are either dependents of the courts or juvenile delinquents; they serve as legal advocates for youth at risk of getting lost in the system
	Project RAISE - Baltimore	Pairs 7 community sponsors (i.e., churches, universities, businesses) with 6th graders for 6 years to help them progress steadily & graduate h.s.; use mentoring & advocacy to improve self esteem, reduce teen pregnancy & drug abuse
	I Have A Dream Foundation - National Program	Encourage students in 6th grade to graduate by committing to pay college tuition for all who qualify; the material motivation is coupled with ongoing moral support for at least 6 years.
	Streets - Memphis	Pair church volunteers with junior high students to help them with tutoring/counseling so they will eventually go to college
	American Dream Project - NY	Enroll corporate volunteers from 10 companies to tutor and provide guidance to middle school students from Harlem & low-income areas; foster ties between business, families, schools
	Mentors, Inc. - Washington, DC	Provide academic guidance to students for all 3 years of h.s. so they can graduate with a plan to either go to college, obtain vocational training, or enter the military; mentors are from law firms, universities, and corporations
	Black Male Youth Health Enhancement Program - Washington, DC	Help Black youth focus on physical fitness, academic achievement, nutrition, behavior, through 1:1 relationships & group classes

	Title	Purpose/Goal
	Univ of Maryland Medical System/Frederick Douglass H.S. (UMMS/FDHS) Partnership Pgm - Baltimore	Decrease the dropout rate and prepare FDHS students for the working world by pairing employees of the UMMS with students at-risk for dropping out
	Mentoring Project for Single Parents at P.S. 111 - Queens, NY	Improve children's lives by improving the lives of their parents: link professional women with single mothers of school's youngest students, help them plan for their lives while encouraging children to enjoy school
	Puente Project - Oakland, CA	Match Mexican American students in community colleges with successful Latino role models who assist in goal setting and careers
	MENTOR - National Program	Inspire students educationally through personal bonds with lawyers; law firms provide lawyers who become friends and advisers to students
PRIVATE	SIMBA ('young lion' in Swahili) - Bay Area, CA, expanding to become national organization	Empower African Americans by helping African American boys become responsible men; pair men with boys for 12 years to teach self awareness, self love, self esteem
	Dream West - Oakland, CA	Assist African American youth with internalizing African concepts and truths that will raise self-esteem, instill purpose
	Linking Lifetimes - National Program	Link elders with at-risk youth to promote sense of stability and competence; act as advocates, challengers, nurturers, role models who help youth set goals for school, work, life
	100 Black Men - National Program	Encourage "successful" Black men to give back to community by pairing them with Black youth in need of caring role models; perpetuate sense of self-help among Blacks; encourage school progress
	Kappa League of Kappa Alpha Psi Fraternity - National Program	Pair college-educated Black men with Black male h.s. students to expose them to professionals while allowing the men to pass on knowledge, experience, life skills
	Olive Crest Homes Buddy System - Southern CA	Adults befriend mentally, sexually, or physically abused or neglected children to help boost trust, esteem, feelings of importance

	Title	Purpose/Goal
	Rites of Passage Program (Concerned Black Men) - Washington, DC	Utilize social process of raising children in the Akan culture (in West Africa's Ghana) to provide manhood training to Black youth 8-10 yrs old; get Black men involved through quasiparental roles; create village/community sense; relationships last minimum 5 years
	Wings To Soar (Grace Hope Presbyterian Church) - Louisville, KY	Unite young and adult African American males through activities that promote spiritual and educational development while strengthening relationships with each other, families, and the church
	Omega Boys Club - San Francisco	Help African American boys toward manhood through 1:1 relationships with African American men; instill pride & self esteem through support & sense of belonging

Evaluation Research

"While the literature on mentoring has grown significantly in the last few years, most of this has been conceptual and descriptive" (Benard, 1992, p. 7). Perhaps because planned mentoring programs are relatively new - many beginning in the mid- to late- 1980s - or because they do not feel a need, or know how, to measure their success, there have been few comprehensive evaluations performed of their services. Indeed, it is generally agreed upon that "research on the effects of mentoring is scant" (McPartland & Nettles, 1991, p. 570). Although grounded in research on adolescence, on youth needs, and on numerous other theories explained in the next chapter, programs establishing 1:1 relationships between adults and youth still need to consider whether they are meeting their specific goals, whether their participants (both mentors and mentees) are satisfied, and how they may better serve their targeted population. Freedman (1993) sums up the current state of the field by advocating for less fervor and more infrastructure.

Among mentoring programs that have attempted to measure effectiveness, few "have been accompanied by quantitative evaluations that include carefully constructed comparison groups, statistical controls on initial student input differences, and statistical tests of effects on major student outcomes after a reasonable period of program operations" (McPartland & Nettles, 1991, p. 570). In the report from The

Consultation of Evaluation of Youth Development Programs, which took place in January 1992, concern over weak evaluations in the field of youth development was emphasized. It described: the meager allowances of time and resources for outcome evaluations; inadequate documentation that sometimes led to inflated claims about program impact; weak evaluation designs that were often not theoretically or methodologically sound; and misdirected measurement goals that often avoided evaluating relationships between adults and youth (Carnegie Council Task Force on Youth Development, 1992).

Unfortunately, the fields of mentoring and youth services suffer when evaluations are not conducted. Solid evidence of "best practices" is not determined nor, consequently, shared. Programs often "reinvent the wheel" simply because there is not much available describing that which has already been done or that which has been proven effective. In an effort to form a research base on the effectiveness of mentoring as an intervention for at-risk youth, a number of different strategies have been employed recently. Most significant is the 4-year research initiative undertaken by P/PV. Their agenda contains a set of studies that when finished, will provide evidence of the effectiveness of mentoring. One is of Big Brothers/Big Sisters of America (BB/BSA) - the oldest, largest, and most well known mentoring program. P/PV realized that although staff in nearly 500 BB/BSA agencies across the country supervised more than 70,000 adults and youth in 1:1 relationships during 1991, no comprehensive study had ever been undertaken. Thus, they have begun a 5-year investigation on the effectiveness of its approach. The first of four studies analyzing the implementation of the BB/BSA model across sites has already been published (Furano, Roaf, Styles, & Branch, 1993). Another study entitled the Adult/Youth Relationships Pilot Project will analyze the feasibility of operating large-scale mentoring programs within public institutions. A preliminary report on the experience of two pilot programs which serve adjudicated youth is also available (Greim, 1992). The third P/PV study examined the successes and frustrations of implementing a mentoring program on 6 college campuses, the key aspects of the relationships between college students and youth, and the outcomes of participation in the programs (Tierney & Branch, 1992). Finally, a study of 4 Linking Lifetimes programs was completed which identifies and defines effective mentoring relationships (Styles & Morrow, 1992).

Other strategies being employed to expand the field are the dissemination of evaluation tips through foundation newsletters, articles, and books (Geiger, 1992; IUME, 1992, June; Murray, M., 1991, chap. 13). Nonprofit organizations are developing for the sole purpose of linking mentoring programs to a research base; they inform individual programs of effective strategies and techniques as soon as they are discovered. Examples are The Mentoring Center in Oakland which helps develop and support mentoring programs throughout California's Bay Area; the Minnesota Mentor Network which coordinates and expands mentoring efforts statewide; and New York Mentoring which assists schools and other organizations seeking to establish mentoring programs.

While the scope of this paper does not allow for an exhaustive discussion regarding all aspects of mentoring programs, it does aim to establish basic understanding of their operations, goals, and effectiveness. The following examples provide a sense of some evaluations that have been completed in the field.

- The Norwalk Mentor Program in Connecticut matches business volunteers with children of kindergarten age and older. Results show that 90% of the students increased their reading and spelling skills or interests; 87% improved school attendance; and 92% increased their self confidence (Hatkoff & Klopp, 1992).
- Adopt-A-Student mentoring program, formed by the Atlanta Partnership of Business and Education, pairs volunteers from 40 local businesses with low-achieving high school juniors and seniors. Participants have high graduation rates compared with controls and an excellent record for job placement (Dryfoos, 1990).
- Eugene Lang's I Have A Dream Foundation provides disadvantaged youth with mentors, a full-time social worker, and (in NY) services from Harlem's Youth Action Program. The youth receive attention from 6th grade through high school. By 1992, of the first 61 students to whom he had promised college tuition, 34 were in college, 9 graduated from high school or received equivalency diplomas, and most of the others had jobs (Evans, 1992).
- Juvenile Court Volunteers in Houston works with youth aged 10-17 who have had contact with the juvenile justice system or have been identified as high risk. Volunteers are paired with

referred youth and assist them with tutoring, advocacy, crisis intervention, and recreational activities. 44% of the participants had no additional referrals to the juvenile justice system, and among the remainder, their offense rate was cut in half (Dryfoos, 1990).

- Project RAISE features outside adults as school-based advocates and mentors for at-risk students at 7 middle schools in Baltimore. A two-year evaluation found improvements in attendance rates and report card grades in English. Effects were strongest at 3 of the 7 sites where 1:1 mentoring was fully implemented (McPartland & Nettles, 1991).
- Linking Lifetimes, an intergenerational mentoring program, has made more than 427 matches. A multifaceted study of 51 long term matches (after 1-2 years) revealed that 74% of the youth felt that having a mentor helped them "stick with school better"; 94% expressed a gain in self confidence; and 67% felt they developed a lasting relationship with their mentor as well as improved their personal or behavioral skills (Center for Intergenerational Learning [CIL], 1992)
- A study of 5 intergenerational mentoring programs in Michigan, Massachusetts, and Maine found that of 47 pairs interviewed, 37 constituted significant relationships. Researchers also found that all youths, regardless of whether or not they had developed significant relationships with their mentors, benefitted from exposure to elders (Freedman, 1988).

It is important to consider these examples in light of the previous discussion. Evaluation research of any program is critical to future momentum and success, and mentoring programs should not be considered differently. As a fairly new movement, the outlook seems positive as numerous efforts are underway in an attempt to solidify the field, expand its base, and disseminate information.

MENTORING
ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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Freedman, M. (1993). The kindness of strangers: Adult mentors, urban youth, and the new volunteerism. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
One of the most recent and comprehensive contributions to the field. Offers an overview of the entire mentoring movement, including history, benefits, limitations, and supporting research. Chapters are complemented with actual experiences, reflections and insights from mentors.

Freedman, M. (1988, Fall). Partners in growth: Elder mentors and at-risk youth (Research report). Philadelphia: Public/Private Ventures.
Presents the results of a study of five intergenerational programs in the Northeast U.S.. Draws on literature, conferences, and interviews in an effort to truly understand what happens and how between elders mentoring at-risk youth.

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Succinct explanation of why mentoring programs should evaluate and the results of two programs which did. Also details the difference between impact and process evaluations.

Murray, M. (1991). Beyond the myths and magic of mentoring: How to facilitate an effective mentoring program. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
Intended for planners, managers, administrators, and human-resource professionals in industry, government, health care, nonprofit, or education. Explains entire process of establishing and running a "facilitated" mentoring program: how to recruit and prepare mentors and proteges, how it fits in with other organizational training efforts, what outcomes and benefits can be expected, how to evaluate, and recommended models and suggestions.

One on one: A guide for establishing mentor programs. (1990). Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Education. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 327 344).
Popular guide for beginning and running mentor programs. It is divided into 3 sections: 1) why mentoring programs are important and how the relationships work, 2) guidelines for developing a program including recruitment, orientation, and maintenance of volunteers and youth, and 3) resources available to assist start-up programs.

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Well known report on mentoring and various programs in U.S.. Discusses why it is a needed intervention, research documenting its potential, and characteristics of quality programs.

Zey, M.G. (1984). The mentor connection. Homewood, IL: Dow Jones-Irwin.
Examines mentoring as a tool used in corporations. Explores its effects on people's careers, their chances of success, and the quality of their work experience. Offers strategies for acquiring a mentor, selection criteria, handling of the relationship, and possible pitfalls.

MORE RESEARCH IN SUPPORT OF MENTORING

"Psychology...is so fundamental to work in social sciences."
- C. Wright Mills (1959, p. 159)

As explained previously, much rationale for mentoring originates from research on adolescence. Child psychologists and theorists have strived to identify the needs, risks, and challenges faced by young adolescents during this stage. There is, however, a great deal more research in support of mentoring. It can be divided into two realms - developmental and social - under which a variety of different theories fall.

DEVELOPMENTAL RESEARCH

Attachment

How does attachment theory support the use of mentors as potential change agents in the lives of adolescents? As "compensatory adults," mentors seek to supplement other caregivers in adolescents' lives by offering experience, advice, teaching, role modeling, and encouragement. Preliminary research shows that these strangers are impacting youngsters' lives as a result of being "matched" with them. Some observers are doubtful, and even mentors themselves will attest to occasional failures. Yet the evidence continues to attest to the fact that some adults do become significant figures in adolescents' lives and actually effect the course of their development. It seems unlikely that this occurs by luck; some other phenomenon must be at work.

It appears that the "underlying mechanisms by which mentor relationships have their protective effects" (Rhodes, 1992, p. 10) is operating, at least in part, according to a process known as attachment. This theory is predicated on a very basic system of behavior called the attachment behavioral system; this system "has the predictable outcome of keeping the individual in proximity to one or a few significant others" (Ainsworth, 1989, p. 709). It begins through the establishment of trust, which Erickson (1963) identified long ago as the critical foundation for human development and bonding (in Benard, 1991). Bowlby (1969) called this foundation a secure base which sustains the relationship as long as the individuals continue to derive feelings of security and comfort from it. The attachment system is most easily observed

during infancy when a baby is wholly dependent on its caregiver for its physical and psychological needs. It is no wonder that helpless infants seem predisposed to attaching to one primary caregiver upon whom their survival relies. Bowlby (1982) states, "There is abundant evidence that almost every child habitually prefers one person, usually the mother-figure" (p. 670). Nevertheless, "there is nothing in attachment theory that says that only attachment status or only the caregiver's behavior influences development" (Sroufe, in press). In fact, numerous researchers (Erickson, Sroufe, & Egeland, 1985; Hazan & Shaver, 1987; Kobak & Sceery, 1988; Main, Kaplan, & Cassidy, 1985) "have begun to extend attachment theory beyond infancy" (Rhodes, 1992, p. 11) and apply it to a variety of relationships that occur throughout the lifespan.

Although not all relationships become attachments as strictly defined by the theory, individuals often try to foster personal alliances in the hope that they will evolve into secure attachments. These are characterized as quality connections in which the attachment figure is sensitive and responsive to the other's natural rhythms and needs. In addition, a secure attachment involves intense emotion, an element of dependency, and uniqueness. It is a happily developed, close partnership. Through this bond, attachment theory states, significant individuals are able to alter the course of development in others. Research demonstrates these effects, and a brief summary of experiments can attest to the power of secure attachments in influencing developmental outcomes. Additionally, close analysis of certain tenets of attachment theory will reveal support for the programmatic theories and goals that encourage mentors to become potential change agents in the lives of adolescents.

The assumption of attachment studies "is that there is a carry-over from a secure attachment relationship to later competence in other domains" (Pastor, 1981, p. 327). Indeed, the literature is rich with data that confirm the positive outcomes of secure attachments. Cicchetti (in press) states that Vondra, Barnett and colleagues established a causal chain extending from attachment relationships to self-perceptions and to school functioning. Bowlby and Sroufe (in Cicchetti, in press) argue another strong causal relationship between individuals' experience with their parents and their later capacity to form and to sustain emotional bonds; likewise, Ryan & Lynch (1989) suggest that attachment "optimises individuation and the capacities for relatedness to self and others during adolescence and early adulthood" (p. 355).

Securely attached youngsters develop more hierarchically organized and integrated systems of self (Cicchetti, in press). Bowlby's work, which emphasizes vital human relationships, asserts that the quality of primary attachment relationships strongly influences personality (Sroufe, in press). In a study of how parent-child relationships influence adjustment among first-year college students, Kobak & Sceery (1988) found that securely attached adolescents appeared "to be the best adjusted" (p. 143): they reported fewer symptoms of distress, higher social competence, and greater use of support from family. Other researchers (Arend, Gove, and Sroufe, 1979; Londerville and Main, 1981; Matas, Arend, and Sroufe, 1978; Sroufe, 1983) as well have proven that secure attachments lead to the following in youth: self reliance, persistence, self confidence, cooperativeness, enthusiasm, positive affect, curiosity, ego-resilience, and self esteem (in Sroufe, in press). Clearly, attachment is a mechanism with outcomes. Behavior change is one product of the interaction (Sroufe & Waters, 1977), and given the proof that attachment relationships can produce positive results, it is understandable why mentors seek to establish them with youth who may need to change or escape high-risk behaviors.

A theoretical analysis of the attachment process provides further support for the reliance on mentors as change agents. One important facet of the theory is that while an individual may have numerous attachments throughout the lifespan (Bowlby, 1984), each relationship is unique, solely between two persons, and not to be replicated. Bowlby (1984) discusses Main and Weston's (1981) study wherein they found no correlation, on an individual level, between the patterns of attachment demonstrated by the same child with each of its parents. By definition, attachment is a "mode of relating to a specific figure" (Ainsworth, 1972, in Sroufe & Waters, 1977). It can be viewed as an affectional bond - a long-enduring tie in which each partner is unique, non-interchangeable, and irreplaceable (Ainsworth, 1989, p.711). These singular relationships hold a great deal of potential. Bowlby (1979) remarks that human beings seem "happiest and able to deploy their talents to best advantage when they are confident that, standing behind them, there are one or more trusted persons who will come to their aid should difficulties arise" (p. 103). Werner & Smith (1992) attribute resiliency in at-risk children, in part, to support provided by significant others; they explain that the resilient youngsters in their study "all had at least one person in their lives who accepted them unconditionally" (p. 205). Hay (1985) suggests that although each social relationship is

unique, the human capacity to form them is general. While it is true that mentors are frequently not even acquaintances with youth prior to the matching process, they rely on the knowledge that humans have a propensity to form emotional bonds throughout the life cycle (Bowlby, 1988). They know that secure attachments can result from "a person attaining or maintaining proximity to some other clearly identified individual who is conceived as better able to cope with the world" (Bowlby, 1982, p. 668).

Another cornerstone of attachment theory is the concept of Internal Working Models. An internal working model, according to Bowlby, "is a mental representation of an aspect of the world, others, self, or relationships to others" (Main, Kaplan, & Cassidy, in press). Internal working models are internal constructions that are "active" and hold the potential to "be restructured" (Main et al., in press). Relationships are known to be internalized and, if strong enough, they can actually affect the individual's view of the world. "Children learn by internalizing the attitudes, values, and ways of meaningful others" (Comer, 1988, in Garbarino et al., 1992, p. 153). Internal working models permit attachment theory to embrace change (Sroufe, in press). Cicchetti (in press) explains that experience naturally provokes the reworking of existing internal working models, especially those that may be of poor quality. It often seems that youth who are invited to participate in mentor programs need the opportunity to "rework" some of their internal working models pertaining to society and their future.

Opponents of change assert that by the time young people reach adolescence, they cannot be helped, that their behaviors have been learned over the years, and that they will remain the way they are. Attachment theory addresses the history and impact of childhood, but still allows for the possibility of change. "By adolescence, they [internal working models] have become quite firm, although new models of thinking here may also provide new opportunities for change" (Main, et al., 1985, as stated in Sroufe, in press). Early experience is never lost, nor can it ever be erased, for it provides the individual with a foundation for later behavior. Nevertheless, "later reorganizations are elaborations and transformations of this foundation" (Sroufe, 1979, p. 836). Perhaps the image of a tree lying on its side best represents the belief of developmental pathways inherent in attachment theory (Bowlby, 1988). Sroufe (in press) states that an individual is like a tree, wherein change is always possible, but constrained by branching pathways previously chosen. While existing internal working models determine how new experiences are

processed, repeated experience of an initially unexpected event will lead to the construction of a new event schema (Bretherton, Ridgeway, & Cassidy, in press). In this very way, attachment figures, as "unexpected and repeated events", can influence internal working models.

The final feature of attachment theory which contributes to the rationale of mentor programs is its position on individual development. Related somewhat to the possibility of change, this aspect posits that there is a coherence to the underlying self structure; "individual adaptation is an ongoing process" (Sroufe, in press). Development is viewed as a coherent process which is not linear, but rather complex and hierarchically-integrated (Sroufe, 1979). Capacities are added throughout the various life stages through changes and adaptations made to the internal working models, some of which include behavioral reorganization. Attachment theorists therefore view development as a series of reorganizations (Sroufe, 1979). This perspective, coupled with the construct of internal working models, justifies the purpose of mentors in the ever-changing lives of adolescents. Attachment can be "employed" as an important component of development for "it has the status of an intervening variable" (Sroufe & Waters, 1977, p. 1185)

The learning that results from attachment to a significant figure is complex and can alter the core being of an individual. Youths are, through mentoring relationships, challenged to reorganize their internal working models, and consequently, these ordering processes influence development. Humans develop according to the principles of individual adaptation, coherence, learning, and reorganization, and as attachment theory relies on these understandings, it supports the use of mentors as change agents for adolescents.

The power of attachment relationships lies in the consequences they effect on individuals' functioning outside of the immediate interaction (Sroufe & Waters, 1977, p. 1185). It is crucial to note that attachment theory does not advocate that attachment figures always need to be present in order to influence others. Critics of mentoring programs might argue that seeing an adolescent one or two times per week, interspersed with a few phone calls, could never truly impact the life of a youth. Yet mentors who have made a difference, or are trying to, know this hypothesis to be false. Attachment theory provides the answer. As Sroufe (in press) states, it is not the presence or strength of the attachment that

influences development, but the quality of the attachment itself. Furthermore, Bowlby explains that the feature of attachment "of the greatest importance clinically is the intensity of the emotion that accompanies it" (Bowlby, 1984, p. 271). The bond which many youth develop with their mentors affects them even when not in their mentor's immediate presence, thereby supporting the argument for quality rather than quantity. Hinde (1979) proposed as well that it may not be proximity to an attachment figure that is of critical importance, but the patterning and accompanying emotions (in Greenberg, Siegel, & Leitch, 1983). Attachment can be viewed as a "dynamic relationship that changes in accord with the developmental tasks at hand" (Ryan & Lynch, 1989, p. 341).

Nevertheless, opponents might contend that mentors do not live near their youths and because they are part of an unpaid program, they are probably not very committed. Attachment research presents evidence that in order for attachment to occur, individuals must acquire a concept of the person as having permanence (Ainsworth, 1973). It is only when youth become acquainted with and trusting of their mentors that they begin to perceive them as "permanent" figures in their lives. If this does not happen, the attachment process may not activate.

It is important when discussing attachment theory to distinguish between primary and secondary attachment figures. An effective way of illustrating the difference is to consider infancy. Primary attachment figures for infants are usually their caregivers because they are "likely to have a more powerful and long-term influence on the child's developmental trajectory than anyone else in childhood" (Colin, Abbott, Rite, & Kennedy, 1991, p. 16). Secondary or supplementary attachments may differ from primary attachments in their longevity (Ainsworth, 1989) and intensity, but have the potential to be substantially influential as well. Consequently, while individuals develop numerous attachments throughout their life, with perhaps the most principal attachment occurring in their first year, they will experience many other significant, but often secondary, attachments. As Sroufe (in press) admits, "Development is profoundly influenced by the network of family relationships and, beyond these, by relationships with peers, teachers and others." Werner and Smith (1992) conclude similarly that children, even under adverse circumstances, can develop competence, confidence, and caring through encounters with persons not necessarily related to them "who provide them with the secure basis for the development of trust, autonomy, and initiative"

(p. 209). Most mentors create relationships through secondary attachments with adolescents. This reality can probably be attributed to the structure of most programs which does not require adults to devote the amount of time and energy needed to develop primary attachments. Fortunately, as the research indicates, secondary attachments also contain great potential, and as the study below demonstrates, primary attachments can still occur because of mentoring programs.

In his study of five intergenerational programs, Freedman (1988) realized the development of two different kinds of mentoring relationships. The primary relationships he noted most closely resembled primary attachments, or as he called them, primary bonds. They were characterized by:

- kinship attachment wherein "the ties between elders and youth...are reminiscent of those between blood relations" (p. 27). The elder became one of a few important persons to the youngster. The attachment was unconditional, encompassing, and went beyond weekly meetings.
- elders who did not only deal with the easier aspects of their youths' lives, but also addressed the more negative, troubling dimensions. There were often struggles and intense moments between the two partners.
- intimacy where "the partners are comfortable revealing their feelings to each other" (p. 29).

The secondary bonds, like secondary attachments, were less complicated and less intense:

- involvement of the elders was more limited. They were still significant to the youths but were not pseudo relatives. They were more like good neighbors who assumed a "helping posture toward the young people" (p. 35).
- efforts concentrated more on reinforcing positive aspects of behavior. Activity was more task oriented and less devoted to solving major crises and problems.
- interaction was more public, occurring more often in schools or at the workplace. The bonds were less intimate, and personal lives were not discussed as much.

Despite these essential differences, Freedman (1988) deduced that "primary and secondary intergenerational relationships share some important common features. First, they are both positive relationships. Second, the participants report an ability to communicate that transcends generational differences" (p. 37). This

study demonstrates the differences between primary and secondary attachments in mentoring relationships, but does so without taking credibility away from either type of bond.

In short, behavior patterns are first established between the pair before attachment can develop. Youths with mentors have testified that these adults have established a significant presence in their lives that often transforms and redirects the very course of their growth. Such testimony clearly demonstrates the power of these matched relationships. Through internal working models, individual adaptation and reorganization patterns, and the overall possibility of developmental change, attachment theory helps makes sense of the potential that mentors have as change agents in adolescents' lives.

Resiliency & Protective Factors

A very powerful theory behind mentoring is that which points to the resiliency of children who, despite prolonged exposure to stressful and high-risk situations, were able to achieve healthy adulthood. "Child developmentalists have estimated that up to 80 percent of all children exposed to powerful stressors do not sustain developmental damage; some children even make use of the challenge and grow stronger" (Fish-Murray, 1990; Rutter, 1979; Werner, 1990, in Garbarino et al., 1992, pp. 100-101). The stressors referred to include poverty, prolonged absence of parents, school failure, and teen pregnancy; the ones that come to mind, unfortunately, when discussing "The status of youth today".

Perhaps the contribution that most significantly advanced understanding about resiliency in children was Emmy Werner's 30-year longitudinal study of 700 children growing up on Kauai. As the study progressed, the team of researchers

> began to take a special interest in certain 'high risk' children who, in spite of exposure to reproductive stress, discordant and impoverished home lives and uneducated, alcoholic or mentally disturbed parents, went on to develop healthy personalities, stable careers and strong interpersonal relations. (Werner, 1989, p. 106)

By focusing on this "successful" subset, they were able to identify "a number of protective factors in the families, outside the family circle and within the resilient children themselves that enabled them to resist stress" (Werner, 1989, p. 106). While characteristics of resilient children and of their families are

certainly important, it is the research on protective factors *outside* the family that most supports the use of mentors.

Numerous researchers have found that "adult relationships, i.e., natural mentoring, not only provided by parents and grandparents but by neighbors, teachers, and other concerned adults, are a protective factor for youth growing up in a stressful family and community environments" (Benard, 1992, p. 5). The extended family has proved to "lessen stress, encourage coping behavior, and facilitate the child's working through of stress and trauma by providing additional adult nurturing and positive models of identification" (Garbarino et al., 1992, p. 107). In their review of the literature regarding competent black children of inner cities, Garmezy & Neuchterlein (1972) found, in all cases, the presence of at least one significant adult who served as an identification figure (in Rhodes, 1992). Similarly, Elder (1974), in examining the impact of sudden financial stress on children of the Great Depression, determined that "sons and daughters from economically deprived homes sought more advice and companionship among persons outside the immediate family circle, for example teachers and friends" (in Werner & Smith, 1992, p. 6). All protective figures outside the home, whether they be found in schools, community centers, or mentoring relationships, function in similar fashion. They provide caring and support, display high expectations of youth, and encourage participation in activities (Benard, 1991).

The influence of one significant person in fostering the resiliency of a youth cannot be overstated. According to Benard (1991), "shifting the balance or tipping the scales from vulnerability to resilience may happen as a result of one person or one opportunity" (p. 18). Werner & Smith (1992) found that the trust, initiative, and autonomy encouraged by supportive individuals outside children's families enabled them to acquire "a faith that their lives had meaning and that they had control over their fates" (p. 57). Over time, this resiliency helped the high risk youth transition successfully into adulthood wherein they reported feelings of happiness and satisfaction (see Appendix M). Each developmental stage poses its own stressors to children so that in each, "there is an opportunity for protective factors (personal competencies and sources of support) to counterbalance the negative weight exerted by adverse experiences" (Werner & Smith, 1992, p. 171). Knowing that adolescence is a time of potentially great stress, especially for children living in high-risk conditions, provides firm rationale for mentoring programs. In essence, these programs

try to bolster the sources of external supports mentioned by Werner & Smith (1992) by supplying caring adults who aim to raise resiliency in youth through promotion of self-esteem and self-efficacy. Faith in mentoring stems from Werner's (1989) conclusion: "All children can be helped to become more resilient if adults in their lives encourage their independence, teach them appropriate communication and self-help skills and model as well as reward acts of helpfulness and caring" (p. 111). In this fashion, odds can be overcome.

Adult Generativity & Fulfillment

Although the benefits of mentoring are often attributed to youth, it is well known that relationships are two-way interactions. Undoubtedly, adults also reap immense profits from these bonds. Research states that older individuals need to connect with others, particularly those younger than them. Erik Erickson called this generativity - the desire of middle- to late-aged adults to pass on knowledge and experience to younger generations. By engaging in this transfer process, adults find fulfillment.

Robert Wuthnow in Acts of Compassion (1991) describes the various ways that adults find fulfillment through participation in volunteer programs. He states: "Research studies show that most people do in fact hold the belief that helping others is a good way of gaining fulfillment for yourself" (p. 87). Fulfillment is defined by the numerous volunteers he interviewed as good feelings, satisfaction, and a sense of self worth that all come from investing one's time and energy. Sometimes called the "norm of reciprocity", the support, counseling, or tutoring that one offers another is like a service that a person offers in exchange for a feeling. One Meals on Wheels deliverer explains: "You can search for anything, but I'm convinced that true, true happiness in life comes, I think, from helping other people" (in Wuthnow, 1991, p. 65).

Genuine caring however is not simple and often requires physical and psychological sacrifice. Wuthnow (1991) states that truly effective volunteers must be strong, know themselves, and be willing to give without necessarily expecting anything in return. In contrast to the norm of reciprocity then, he calls this prerequisite of knowing oneself prior to volunteering the "therapeutic motif":

> This understanding locates fulfillment at the start of the process rather than at the end. It identifies fulfillment as something you already have, rather than something you receive in return for your giving...It says in effect, yes, we are already fulfilled; indeed that is the way it should be - take care of your own needs first and after that you will be able to serve others. (pp. 99-100)

In essence, "individuality is a prerequisite for genuine caring, and genuine caring helps one attain one's individual potential" (Wuthnow, 1991, p. 219). This appears closely linked to Erickson's theory of generativity in that people must know themselves before being able to pass anything on successfully. Mentoring clearly fits this model.

One recent study conducted by a program supports the notion that mentoring is mutually transforming. Career Beginnings surveyed 800 of its participants from 16 cities, and not only did the students report numerous benefits and improvements resulting from their relationships, but so too did the adult volunteers. They reported that mentoring helped them to: fulfill their own responsibilities (1/2), strengthen family relationships (1/4), increase their regard for people of other races (1/2), recognize that they can make a difference (1/4), and be willing to get involved again (4/5) (Benard, 1992).

SOCIAL RESEARCH

Social Support

At the beginning of the chapter on the current status of youth, one of the causes mentioned as contributing to high risk behavior among adolescence was their lack of social capital. The flight of middle-class blacks from the inner city, for instance, is said to erode the social buffer that once strengthened the community and its institutions. As a result, inner city youths lose not only positive role models, but the resources these stable individuals offer and access to them. Mentoring is an attempt, in part, to rebuild the social support networks for at-risk youths. Why are social networks important? Weinraub, Brooks, & Lewis (1977) propose a variety of reasons. They state that social networks are comprised of a variety of social beings, including caregivers, siblings, other relatives, and friends; embedded in and vary as a function of the environment; include children as active participants from birth on; and provide knowledge to children through direct and indirect interaction. The theory of social capital builds on such research and in so doing, justifies how and why mentoring should rebuild social networks.

For example, research shows that social relationships provide youth with access to, knowledge of, and motivation to use resources that enable them to succeed in life. Functional "success", however, is not the only benefit of social relationships; so too is overall development. According to James Coleman, "sociologists and a few economists have recognized that the social relations that exist in the family or in the community outside the family...constitute a form of capital" critical to development (in Benard, 1992, p. 6). However, given the recent trends and conditions of urban areas, it is clear that families and communities are failing to provide the social capital necessary for healthy youth development. Thus, it becomes critical for others (e.g., mentors) to fill the cracks so that positive growth in children may proceed.

The disintegration of strong nuclear families in particular has caused much alarm and increased emphasis on the significance of social support networks to youth development. Recent literature urges community organizations to bolster their efforts in supporting youth. Why? Aside from the positive effects already mentioned, knowledge about adolescence reveals that during this stage, youngsters seek non-parental guidance. The peer group, of course, is always readily available to fill this need, but it should be complemented by other more positive, but equally influential and accessible social supports. Adolescent research even outlines the types of support that should be provided: affective (emotional), cognitive (information, skills and strategies), and instrumental (tangible goods and services) (Hamburg, 1990). Interestingly, these suggestions align closely with the goals of mentoring programs, mentioned in the preceding chapter.

Studies conducted with adolescents further reveal the importance of social support and mentors. One study of adolescents concluded that stressful life events were strongly correlated with depression when support systems were weak or absent (Hamburg, 1990). Bernard Lefkowitz (1986) interviewed 500 disadvantaged youth, of whom a majority credited their success and prosocial behavior to the support of one caring adult in their lives (in Benard, 1992; Rhodes, 1992). Williams & Kornblum (1985) followed the life histories of 900 low-income, urban youth and determined that, among many factors, "the most significant is the presence of or absence of adult mentors" (in Rhodes, 1992, p. 1). Positive benefits for youth in relationships with supportive adults were also discovered by Rhodes and Jason (1990). They

found that the presence of a supportive adult protected inner city youth against stress and substance use (in Rhodes, 1992). Additionally, Rhodes, Ebert, & Fischer (in press) found that natural mentors, defined as supportive, non-parent, non-peer figures, helped young African American mothers adjust psychologically. They cite that "mentors seemed to heighten the young women's capacity to benefit from their social networks."

Compassion & Common Destiny

Much literature attests to the way in which society benefits from having a volunteer element. People believe that acts of compassion committed solely for the purpose of assisting other individuals will effect society positively in the long run. When Robert Wuthnow (1991) surveyed a number of volunteers, 75% confirmed that "society is better off when we care for each other" (p. 296). He argues:

> There is an important *sociological* case to be made for compassion...When someone shows compassion to a stranger, it does set in motion a series of relationships that spreads throughout the entire society. Even if the chain is broken...the whole society is affected. (pp. 299-300)

Essentially, caring creates an awareness of interdependence that reminds people of their humanity and common bond with other human beings. For those who engage in compassionate acts, there is a pervasive feeling that "what goes around comes around" (Wuthnow, 1991, p. 294).

Caring acts help humankind by fostering connections that often transcend barriers between segregated communities and groups. Wuthnow (1991) offers the story of the Good Samaritan as an example of how caring for others, particularly strangers, creates feelings of neighborliness and moreover, respect for others' human dignity. Helping someone along the road virtually "conjures up an image of social relations" (p. 179). Yet it also does something more. It depicts each person as a stranger about whom the other knows nothing; by reaching out, a gap in humanity somehow closes which, at least momentarily, brings two individuals together. The principle that their "differences fade as the one helps the other" (p. 183) allows them to relate as human beings, stripped of societal barriers. Along similar lines, Wuthnow discovered in speaking with numerous volunteers that one of the unanticipated benefits of their compassionate acts was a broadening of horizons; volunteering allowed them to interact with

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individuals who lived in different environments under different circumstances. Acts of compassion allowed them to experience and understand situations to which they had never been exposed before.

Finally, in addition to feeling better about one's self and being reminded about humankind's common destiny, volunteering engages people in a common struggle against social injustices. "A compassionate society is one that elevates justice" (Wuthnow, 1991, p. 252). Although individual acts, such as mentoring relationships, do not eradicate social evils, they offer hope that small changes in society can occur. Wuthnow (1991) concludes that "volunteer work stands for goodness and decency...for courage, conviction, a willingness to go against the crowd, even freedom" (p. 268). Mentoring is certainly this type of attempt in which people work together toward reinventing better communities and a better society.

MORE RESEARCH IN SUPPORT OF MENTORING
ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

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ANALYSIS OF CULTURAL MATCHING & ITS SIGNIFICANCE WITHIN A SOCIOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

"Where does this society stand in human history? What are the mechanics by which it is changing? What is its place within and its meaning for the development of humanity as a whole? How does any particular feature we are examining affect, and how is it affected by, the historical period in which it moves?"
- C. Wright Mills (1959, pp. 6-7)

It has been established thus far that mentoring is an effective strategy for dealing with youth and that it has solid underpinnings in both history and research. How do race and ethnicity affect this service? What weight, if any, should be placed on these traits during the matching process, and is it possible to determine their importance? Clearly, "the development and maintenance of the mentor-youth relationship is intimately connected to the dynamics of culture and environment" (CIL, 1992, winter), but can one be sensitive to these dynamics without being from the same background? Finally, what is at stake by using cultural or non-cultural matching techniques: What do they represent, what messages do they send, and what are their implications for youth and society at large?

These are profound questions that will never have definitive answers. Solutions to the issues of race and ethnicity are constantly evolving and must be regularly examined. Individuals grapple with these dilemmas on a daily basis, just as agencies, universities, societies, and governments debate and discuss their meaning and significance. As Cornel West explains, race "sits at the very center and core of what it means to be an inhabitant of the 20th century", and in most basic terms, "the problem of the 20th century is the problem of the color line" (lecture, February 5, 1994). These complexities deserve attention as well as scrutiny; difficulty in understanding phenomena should never translate into acceptance of the status quo or equally as dangerous, unfounded rhetoric. *Yet the arguments for and against cultural matching in mentoring programs have become, to some degree, ideological premises based on beliefs rather than research.* The issue of cultural matching raises questions among program administrators, mentors, and foundations. Yet the practices with which they settle may be more representative of what they are comfortable and familiar with rather than symbolic of conclusions arrived at through conscious deliberation. Such avoidance may occur largely because of the challenges that accompany thinking about issues of race,

ethnicity, and culture: ambiguity surrounds them, research relating them to adolescent development has been lacking, and they interact with a host of other variables such as age, gender, and socioeconomic circumstances (Camino, 1992). In an effort to address a largely avoided, as well as polarized, practice of the mentoring movement, one must understand both sides of the cultural matching argument and then analyze their content against some larger framework. It is the focus of this chapter to examine the debate around cultural matching, place it within a sociological context, and ultimately attempt to draw some conclusions about the appropriateness and relevance of each argument.

There are a number of terms which are integral to any dialogue pertaining to cultural matching, whether it be in mentoring, in the human services, in adoption practices, or in other domains of cross-racial/cross-cultural contact. The following list of key words presents basic concepts rather than rigid definitions.

- **Culture** - A learned pattern of customs, beliefs, norms, values, attitudes, folkways, behavior styles, and traditions which 1) meets biological and psychosocial needs, 2) is socially acquired and transmitted across generations, 3) comprises an organized group of learned responses which functions to preserve society, and 4) provides people with a general design for living and for interpreting reality. One's cultural background often embraces race, ethnicity, social class, and minority/majority group status (Correia & Munsell, 1992, p. 14; Gibbs & Huang, 1990, pp. 6, 10; Nobles, 1985, p. 54).
- **Ethnicity** - A group classification in which members share a unique cultural and social heritage that is transmitted across generations. Commonalities are non-biological and include religion, nationality, language, region, etc. (Correia & Munsell, 1992, p. 14; Gibbs & Huang, 1990, p. 6).
- **Race** - A group of people possessing similar physical characteristics, of genetic origin. Race takes on ethnic meaning when members of the same biological group evolve specific ways of living (Correia & Munsell, 1992, p. 14; Gibbs & Huang, 1990, p. 6).
- **Cultural/Ethnic Sensitivity Training** - Learning activities and exercises that provoke individual introspection of one's cultural/ethnic identity, teach professionals about the multicultural society

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in which they live, enhance awareness of cultural differences, and focus on understanding the role of cultural environments in peoples' lives and the impact of those roles in multicultural/ethnic group interaction (National Council of Juvenile & Family Court Judges, 1990, p. 4).

- **Cross-Cultural or Intercultural Communication Competence** - Internal capability of an individual to facilitate the communication process with others from different cultural backgrounds. It is important to manage the dynamics of intercultural communication - cultural differences, unfamiliarity, intergroup posture and stress. Self-awareness of one's own cultural values and customs is as necessary as sensitivity and awareness of others' patterns. Knowledge about particular cultures may be less important than overall cognitive, affective, and operational adaptability (Correia & Munsell, 1992, p. 14; Kim, 1991).
- **Ethnic/Cultural Competence** - Ability to give aid or assistance to others in ways that will be accepted by them; ideas presented must be congruent with the recipient's cultural background and expectations. It also refers to one's ability to learn about the cultural context of a presenting problem and to integrate that knowledge into an appropriate assessment, diagnosis, and intervention (Green & Leigh, 1989, in Correia & Munsell, 1992, p. 3).

Youth opinions regarding race & ethnicity

Before presenting the arguments of adults, it may be sensible to consider the opinions of youth since implicit in most cultural matching discussions is the belief that one matching technique (over another) best enables programs to meet youth needs. Are children today concerned with racial and ethnic relations? What types of mentors do they want - adults who share their ethnic/racial backgrounds, adults with some other qualities, or adults with a combination of attributes? A number of recent surveys confirm that racial attitudes and ethnic biases are held by or familiar to youths; they additionally reflect young people's pessimism about race relations. One 1993 study of high schools in the Twin Cities discovered the extent of boundary maintenance between various groups. "Segregation" was claimed as "still the unwritten rule" (Morgan, 1993, p. 6B). Against a backdrop of racial conflicts and harassment incidents, students offered

explanations such as "Different races segregate because it's a way of having something in common" and "Like cultures understand one another better" (Arredondo in Morgan, 1993, p. 6B).

In 1992, People for the American Way conducted a nationwide telephone survey of 1,170 youths between 15 and 24 years of age, as well as some interviews and focus groups. The findings, according to the organization's president, were chilling: "Young people have placed themselves in opposing camps, divided by race, and they tend to believe only the worst about youth of other races" (Kropp in Schmidt, 1992, p. 5). Fifty percent of the youths surveyed described race relations in the U.S. as "generally bad", and there was a "'gaping perception gap' between whites and members of minority groups on such issues as discrimination and affirmative action" (Collison, 1992, p. A1). Researchers determined the existence of numerous stereotypes and resentments toward other racial groups despite the finding that 55% of surveyed youth said that they believed race relations were improving. At least young people agreed on core values such as family, personal responsibility, and fairness. All groups believed that education, hard work, and fair chances were critical success factors (Schmidt, 1992).

A national survey from 1990 further depicts the bleak outlook held by teens towards race relations. Results from 1,865 interviews with 10th-12th graders revealed that: 57% said they had witnesses bias-motivated acts, 25% had been victims of bias, 30% said they would be likely to commit racist attacks, and 47% said that if they came upon a racial attack, they would either join in or feel that the group being attacked deserved it (Ribadeneira, 1990). All of these findings have led researchers to conclude that there is widespread ignorance among adolescents, that they have learned how to hate and develop biases, and that indeed, race and ethnicity are of utmost concern to them.

How do these attitudes factor into youths' demands for certain types of mentors? Unfortunately, few formal studies have been conducted, exposing a gap between what adults *say* youth want and what adults *know* based on consistent investigation. One recent study conducted 16 focus groups throughout the greater metropolitan Washington, DC area: 135 youths, between 11 and 15 years, participated and represented White, Black, Central American, and Vietnamese ethnic and racial groups (S.W. Morris & Co., 1992). Among the issues addressed, youth described the types of adult role models they would like to have contact with through programs. Some of the ideal characteristics like generosity, organization,

caring, and reliability were discussed in an earlier chapter. However, as they relate to racial and ethnic concerns, youth opinions varied. As one would expect, non-native speakers of English expressed a desire for bilingual leaders with whom they could communicate openly; a subgroup of them wanted adults who were from their country of origin. Some older black males said that they preferred black leaders, while many others did not mention race as a criteria, but stressed traits such as understanding, non-discriminatory, good listening skills, etc. This survey illustrates that even among youth discrepancy over cultural matching exists. Most importantly, disagreement was manifested not only between groups but also within groups (i.e., although some older black males wanted black adult leaders, other older blacks, younger males, and black females did not consider race a major criterion). Similar divisions, or lack thereof, also exist among adults.

One final note regarding the logic of tapping youth beliefs. Some people in the mentoring field see no purpose to seeking youth opinions. Administrators like Martin Jacks of The Mentoring Center state that asking young people about racial and ethnic matters is like drawing from the "least valuable source" (personal communication, September 8, 1993). Why? Because the process of inquiring assumes that they understand the criteria and the complexity of the issues involved. To a large degree this feeling is shared with other professionals in the fields of psychology and human development wherein child attitude measures/tests are not highly regarded. Nevertheless, knowing the status of youth thoughts informs society about their feelings, which cannot be "right" or "wrong". Children are often considered the mirror of a society, and if they are growing up with attitudes that among adults are considered detrimental to the functioning of that society, programs and services must determine those opinions early on. Knowing where youth stand allows society to direct its efforts toward teaching and changing certain habits that are, or will become, impediments to the development of a better society. This is not to advocate that youth opinions should be accepted at face value, but to suggest that they should be realized and compared to a society's ideals and its vision for the future.

As important as it is to recognize the lack of rigorous studies conducted around youth feelings and opinions, it is equally as crucial to realize the dearth of evaluations of matching processes. Although some studies are mentioned in the next section, one should be mindful of the balance (or imbalance) between

ideology and research. Undeniably, actions should be based in theory, and people should believe that their practices will enable them to achieve long-range goals. However, action also guides theory, and mentoring programs should consider evaluating their actions (e.g., measuring differences in effectiveness between same-race and cross-race matches) in order to continue developing theory.

CULTURAL MATCHING ARGUMENTS

In defense of cultural matching

Proponents of cultural matching firmly believe that culture (which, according to the aforementioned definition, depends on one's racial and ethnic background as well as social class, language, etc.) plays a critical role in establishing effective mentor-mentee relationships. Without this similar background, the match will never fulfill its potential. In essence, the argument states that people who share culture can relate more effectively to each other than people who represent different cultural heritages.

In a study which focused on black professionals, results indicated that "race has a significant impact in mentoring relationships involving blacks" (Kalbfleisch & Davies, 1991, p. 270). Proteges as well as mentors selected the other based on race; moreover, same-race matches played a more significant role than cross-race matches in effecting black proteges' careers. D.A. Thomas (1989), in examining mentoring relationships between black and white managers, also found that racial similarity allowed the identification processes of mentoring (i.e., the psychological dynamics in which the mentor sees parts of him/herself in the protege and vice versa) to occur more readily. He determined that when white mentors are anxious and uncomfortable with cross-racial differences, "both mentors and proteges lose out when, unable to identify with each other, they fail to connect emotionally" (Thomas, D.A., 1989, p. 287). These two studies serve as examples which highlight the known difficulties in developing and sustaining cross-cultural matches; they illustrate (Thomas, D.A., 1989)

- how "feelings of racial identity shape unconscious fantasies and fears very powerfully" (p. 280),
- how "we are still living in the aftermath of a social earthquake - slavery and its sequelae's long-term effects on racial identity, black self-esteem, and white prejudice - lie deep within our culture" (p. 282),

- how "racial taboos [forbidden actions & reflections] are at the source of many unspoken feelings and irrational acts" (p. 288), and
- how "facing the taboos these relationships create, blacks and whites retreat to less intense ways of being together" (p. 288).

Defenders of cultural matching acknowledge the odds of success and the familiar disadvantages to minorities when cross-race relationships fail. In light of these realities, their fundamental belief becomes one which maintains racial and ethnic boundaries in helping relationships so that minority individuals may gain maximum benefit from them.

Due to the complexities surrounding culture, most mentoring programs which engage in cultural matching rely almost entirely on shared race or ethnicity. Consequently, as long as an adult is African American or Latino, for instance, s/he is considered appropriate to mentor a youth belonging to the same minority group. Socio-economic status, albeit a part of culture, becomes less significant, as do differences among subgroups (e.g., "Latino" refers to Columbians as well as Dominicans, despite the array of linguistic, religious, and other variances between them). One female mentor who is black states, "'Though I haven't grown up in their neighborhood, I can relate to them just because I'm black'" (Vance in Garland, S., 1992, p. 46). It is important to understand the justification for emphasizing group status as opposed to individual distinctions. As for African Americans, but probably numerous other minorities as well, it has been determined that their "problems transcend class and geographical boundaries"; since they have always been judged as a group, they have developed a history of responding to issues as a group (Ogbu, 1990a, p. 52).

With this understood, it becomes easier to explore the underlying rationale from which the belief stems. First, racial and ethnic communities believe that they should help their own. This phenomenon is certainly not new. Any cultural group throughout history can be found to support its own members and have a vested interest in their well-being. It is not surprising then to find that among the various racial and ethnic communities currently residing in the U.S., there is a desire to "stick together" and foster a sense of solidarity. In the situation of African Americans, whereby their community is becoming more and more spread out and segregated along class lines, there is a push to "reunite blacks by reminding them of their

common responsibility to one another. Mentoring is one mechanism by which activists hope to forge these ties, particularly since their culture has always stressed self-help and the notion of extended family which exceeds boundaries of biological kinship. The following statements reflect the sense of responsibility that is being stressed and rebuilt among African Americans.

- "'I don't expect white people to educate our kids...We are responsible. The challenge falls back on us'" (Madhubuti in Riley, 1986, p. 46).
- "'It seems as though we, as middle-class blacks, constantly expect whites to rectify the problems of the inner city...But we, too, have a responsibility. We have a responsibility to do whatever we can do, with the expertise we have gained throughout our lives and careers, to provide opportunity for black youth who don't have any'" (in Kelly, 1992, p. 11A).
- "There is not much white liberals can do to reinforce poor urban blacks' sense of obligation to one another, to their unborn children, or to the society from which they must derive their livelihood" (Jencks, 1992, p. 142).

An excerpt from Liebow's work Tally's Corner (1967) demonstrates the historical nature of blacks' responsibility to one another:

> The sooner and the more effectively Negroes organize to promote their own self-interests, just as other ethnic and religious groups and the working class have done before them, the sooner and more effectively we can get on to other problems standing in the way of building a democratic society. (p. 230)

While the notion of responsibility is intricately tied to different groups' cultural heritages, it is fervently emphasized out of need. The historical experiences of minority groups in this country, particularly those of involuntary minorities who were brought to the U.S. through slavery, conquest, or colonization, remind such individuals that they must fight to preserve their identity. Crossing cultural boundaries in the U.S becomes a painful and problematic experience for groups like Native Americans, Mexican Americans, and African Americans. It is viewed as "threatening to their minority identity and security, but also to their solidarity" (Ogbu, 1990b, p. 155). Culture is deeply internalized in one's personality structure; it provides racial and ethnic groups with "charters for existence" (Camino, 1992, p. 5); it furnishes them with a sense of history, heritage, and continuity. Allowing whites, for instance, to

mentor their children becomes not just an issue of helping children, but a much larger intrusion and danger to that minority's cultural identity. Proponents of cultural matching believe that any racial or ethnic mentor who is not representative of a child's background will inevitably and subconsciously impose their cultural values and customs on that child, at the expense of robbing the child of his/her own heritage. And of course, if that adult is white, the match carries with it all of the symbolism of the historical treatment that the dominant Anglo culture has inflicted on the minority group.

This concern was confirmed by John Ogbu when he studied two mentoring programs in San Francisco (1990a). He determined that the "mentor and protege had different goals from the beginning", and that all mentors approached mentoring with "the zeal of a missionary", wanting to save at-risk youth from the hazards of their environments by engaging them in "'legitimate mainstream'" activities (p. 8). The problem was that the youth themselves never perceived a need for mentoring and defined "reality" differently from successful mainstream models. In short, the African American youth they observed had a cultural frame of reference that was "not merely different from but opposed to the cultural frames of reference of their white 'oppressors'" (p. 30).

An example of one potential outcome of a match between a white mentor and a black child may help to illustrate this point further. An aspect of African culture which (by definition of culture) has been passed on through generations is the concept of the family system. Nobles (1985) describes the African family system as a sort of total entity which "constitutes more power or force than the individual entity" (p. 59). Consequently, existence is at the level of the family; "family existence is more important than individual existence" (p. 59). In contrast, the dominant white culture in the U.S. stresses individualism and competitiveness as primary goals for individuals. Simply by virtue of being a product of one's culture, a white mentor might teach a black youth that getting a job and becoming successful in the mainstream economy are of utmost importance. Yet an African American adult may teach the same child that good conduct, community contribution and cooperation, and maintenance of family values should be primary goals. These cultural differences, while subtle, are viewed as integral to development by those who have been forced to compromise their beliefs in a society that has historically devalued them.

Finally, cultural matching proponents argue that an adult of a different racial and ethnic background cannot teach a youth how to cope in society since s/he cannot understand what it feels like to "be in that youth's shoes." In the words of Martin Jacks, "If I've never experienced what you have, how can I help you?" The ideal mentor becomes one who has "walked the walk" and can identify and truly feel what a young person is experiencing (personal communication, September 8, 1993). In the case of minority youth, many "are vulnerable to low self-esteem or have restricted views of their possibilities because of their environments and because they internalize the racial and ethnic attitudes of the larger society toward them" (IUME, 1992, August, p. 4); thus, only a mentor of their racial and ethnic group can really understand these social and psychological conflicts and offer realistic solutions. Without the common bond of race or ethnicity, many believe that deeper levels of trust, sharing, and cooperation will never be realized. People in favor of cultural matching fear that either negative or no identification processes will develop, and they view this as a central component of the mentoring relationship. Identification is similar to role modeling in which youth try to emulate and become like their mentors. Particularly among minority groups, there is apprehension that providing a mentor from a different culture will send the wrong message to their children. First, it will tell them that the people they should model are not of their own group and second, that there aren't enough adults from their own culture who can serve as positive models so they must rely on others. The argument for cultural matching is deeply embedded in minority groups' historical experience in the U.S., in their own cultural legacies, values, and customs, and in the very basic nature of groups wherein constituents help, protect, and serve their own. It is through working together as a group and defining common goals that members gain affirmation of their humanism, empowerment, culture, self identity, and ultimately the bicultural competence necessary to be comfortable as a product of one's own culture and as an American (Leigh, 1989).

In defense of cross-cultural matching

Most proponents of cross-cultural matching do not deny the existence and potential effects of culture on mentoring relationships. Of course, there are some who believe that American citizens should live in a "colorblind" society, but this is by no means the majority opinion today. Ignorance of racial and

ethnic differences leads to reliance on the norm - which is predominantly Anglo mainstream culture - as well as denial of a circumstance which should be celebrated in the most diverse (multicultural) country in the world - difference. Thus, many who defend cross-cultural matching believe that effective relationships can transpire despite racial, ethnic, and often times, class differences. Why?

One reason people feel a need to cross cultural boundaries is to respond to the subtle pleas of youth, like that of 16 year old Jadira Lopez who said: "'We want to get along better, but no one has told us how we can do it'" (in Ribadeneira, 1990, p. 8). They then cite numerous stories of individuals who are respected for working among racial and ethnic groups different than their own and ask, why can't mentors work across cultures and set examples for youth? They mention psychologists like Kerby Alvy who despite the fact that he is white, has been able to study and subsequently prove himself to the black community so that he can teach parenting skills to young black mothers (Abrams, 1988). They refer to the few studies that have been conducted of mentoring programs and in particular, of cross-cultural matches. In a national study of 8 BB/BSA agencies, evaluators found that:

> Minority youth in same-race matches and those in cross-race matches were equally likely to have met with their Big Brother or Big Sister during the study period, and their rates of interaction were also similar. These findings, then, support the practice of making cross-race matches--a practice already justified by the scarcity of minority Big Brothers and Big Sisters. (Furano et al., 1993, p. iv)

Another study of more than 20 programs in Northeast urban areas also found evidence of strong cross-race child-adult bonding (Ferguson, R.F., 1990). Researchers (Ferguson, R.F., 1990) noted that although "several people had strong opinions about the need for matching children and mentors by sex and race" (p. 19), matching by race was more a matter for some youths than for others. In fact, they determined that "sensitivity seems to be the only absolute requirement" (p. 19).

Herein lies one of the main tenets of the cross-cultural matching argument - the importance of quality. A national mentoring newsletter illustrates this point: "While homogeneous matching does expedite the development of trust, it does not guarantee a successful mentoring match" (CIL, 1992, Winter, p. 1). Indeed, many programs recommend that mentors be recruited on the merits of their character, such as their caring and nurturing skills, their experiences and common interests with youth, and their ability to provide sensitive support (CIL, 1992, Winter; Ascher, 1988). "Sensitive support," although a broad

term, entails knowledge and understanding of youth experiences; in the case of cross-cultural mentoring, adults are sought who already demonstrate familiarity with, or willingness to learn, the nuances of cultural differences. Flaxman explains (in IUME, 1992, August):

> It is true the mentors outside the youth's ethnic and cultural world cannot easily understand it. However, this does not mean that they cannot be good mentors. They can still offer social support to the youth and recognize and foster the areas of the youth's competence and values, even if they do not completely recognize or understand their source. (p. 4)

In this way, mentoring is not viewed as an end-all solution by which one adult can satisfy all of a youth's needs. People in this camp recognize that certain mentors may not be able to assist in all realms, but state that even mentors who are racially/ethnically similar to their mentees cannot be wholly successful. By providing mentors who are biculturally competent, proponents of cross-cultural matching do not feel as though they are doing a disservice to youth. As long as mentors expose their mentees to various cultures, encourage them to feel secure with their own cultural identity, engage in activities that will enhance their mentees' knowledge of their own heritage, and remain constantly aware of their own cultural baggage and how it may affect treatment of their youth, then it is believed that sharing racial or ethnic identity becomes less consequential.

Many claim that there are benefits to cross-cultural matching, the most significant being the breaking down of racial and ethnic barriers. Elliot Liebow (1967) wrote of "the chain-link fence [between us], since despite the barriers we were able to look at each other, walk alongside each other, talk, and occasionally touch fingers" (p. ix). Undoubtedly, America is a country of many cultures, but the interaction between them leaves much to be desired. Stereotypes, prejudice, and worst of all, inequalities prevail. In light of the work that remains to be done, proponents of cross-cultural matching view mentoring as one method that allows individuals to begin to breach social distances (IUME, 1992, August).

Actually, social distance sometimes causes more concern among cross-cultural advocates than issues of race or ethnicity. A Chinese man from the elite class may have less in common with a youth whose parents were peasants, than another adult from a working class background. Social distance becomes a problem when it "causes the mentor to misunderstand the young person's problems, needs and thoughts" (Flaxman, 1991, p. 17). Yet mentors have succeeded in bridging social distances when their

skills, knowledge, and networks prove to be salient to their mentees (Flaxman et al., 1988). In essence, "the question here is whether what looks like class differences on the surface might more correctly be described as differences in the ability" of adults to offer appropriate resources to their mentees (Flaxman et al., 1988, p. 32). Cross-cultural supporters say that dual learning can result from cross-racial/cross-ethnic matches: as a youth may be exposed to the mentor's culture, which previously might have aroused negative or uncomfortable feelings in the young person, the adult is also exposed to a culture which may be equally unfamiliar to him/her. Even at the turn of the century, crossing cultural barriers was advocated. In his introduction to Street Corner Society (1943), William Foote Whyte states:

> Cornerville people appear as social work clients, as defendants in criminal cases, or as undifferentiated members of 'the masses.' There is only one thing wrong with such a picture: no human beings are in it...The only way to gain such knowledge [of local life] is to live in Cornerville and participate in the activities of its people. (p. xviii)

Cross-cultural proponents believe that they are acting upon this advice. Their matching technique pairs people of different backgrounds and permits the learning of cultural competence.

Many argue that cross-cultural matching allows for the dismantling of societal barriers in a country whose history is blemished by racial exclusivity and segregation. It fights against the inequity of keeping people separate, and in so doing, obviously opposes cultural matching which maintains that racial and ethnic differences are significant and should keep people divided to a certain extent. People in favor of cross-cultural matching believe that "racial exclusivity...is the very opposite of what civil rights were supposed to be all about" (Taylor, 1992, p. 3B). The argument here is not simply proposed by the dominant white majority, but represents the feelings of people from various racial and ethnic groups. Cornel West, a prominent African American scholar, states that insularity - the notion that one needs to stay only within one's own group - compromises a person's citizenship. He views the U.S. as a "hybrid culture" where people must learn how to relate to one another. Those who argue for black nationalism and getting in touch with black cultural identity, West feels, should do so in parallel fashion to working with others, rather than sequentially (lecture, February 5, 1994). Otherwise, "Black nationalist leaders often inadvertently contribute to the very impasse they are trying to overcome" (West, 1993, p. 44). Similarly, Shelby Steele (1990), an African American author and professor, emphasizes the danger of

hiding behind a victim's status and of justifying "inversion" - racist thought. He quotes from Ralph Ellison's Invisible Man: "We create the race by creating ourselves and then to our great astonishment we will have created something far more important: We will have created a culture" (in Steele, 1990, p. 30).

In short, Steele and others prioritize individual development over separate group maintenance. "A sense of self arises from individual achievement and self-realization. When self-esteem is established apart from race, then racial identity can only enhance because it is no longer needed for any other purpose" (Steele, 1990, p. 29). Cross-cultural advocates do not intend to infer, although it is often construed this way, that racial or ethnic identity is insignificant. They merely "object to the belief that it is more important that we belong to some particular small group than to the human race" (Daniel Boorstin in Szulc, 1993, p. 5). Commonalities such as humanism and American citizenship should bind people together. The way people understand their own culture, in part, comes from understanding others and viewing the common threads as well as the diversity (Zizwe, professor of African American studies, lecture, December 8, 1993). Recognition of these allows individuals to cross racial and ethnic barriers in an attempt to fight for the collective goals of social justice which will one day reform the U.S. into a true, equal, multicultural society. This process is considered by some the building of a coalition of interests, rather than of colors: "'We need to develop a philosophy based on participation. Don't put races together, put purposes together'" (Betances in Thomas, C.A., 1991, p. C1). Others refer to this process of collaboration and broad-based alliances as building a foundation which will allow for the safe expression and appreciation of differences. "Difference that does not rest on a clearly delineated foundation of commonality is not only inaccessible to those who are not part of the ethnic or racial group, but also antagonistic to them. Difference can only enrich the common ground" (Steele, 1990, p. 148).

Cross-cultural matching advocates believe the process to be valuable and beneficial because it symbolizes people working together, trying to 1) improve the life chances of youth and 2) foster some sense of community across a sea of differences which have historically separated people. The pairing of mentors with youth of different racial and ethnic backgrounds fosters solidarity between those outside the "caves" (i.e., inner cities as described by Martin Luther King, Jr.) and those within them (in Davis, O., 1989). People on this side feel that those willing to work cross-culturally should be allowed and

encouraged to do so, for it is much easier to retreat to the familiar - to one's own group - than to face the challenges, attitudes, and discomfort that accompanies expansion. Ossie Davis (1989) advises that "cooperation" rather than "competition" should be the principle that governs human affairs.

Lastly, proponents of cross-cultural matching believe that true dedication to mentoring comes from one's heart where there is no room for fear of differences. Love is touted to be the most solid and only true foundation upon which a multicultural society can thrive. Cornel West (1991) states that nihilism (the experience of coping with hopelessness, meaninglessness, and lovelessness which threatens the existence of Black America) can only be tamed by love and care, that "a love ethic must be at the center of a politics of conversion" (p. 225). He states that people must confront their common history and more importantly, acknowledge their common destiny; they must focus attention on the common good because "the vitality of any public square ultimately depends on how much we care about the quality of our lives together" (West, 1993, p. 6). Herein lies the crucial reasoning behind cross-cultural matching. Individuals will never be able to establish a socially just multicultural society unless they recognize that they must love, respect, and learn about their neighbors. These processes will not occur as long as crossing racial and ethnic boundaries is prohibited. How can people realize their commonalities while comfortably celebrating their differences if they cannot relate to one another, learn about the other, and work towards enriching their lives together?

Comparative summary chart

The two arguments each hinge on a few fundamental convictions. The viewpoints are deeply rooted in ideologies relating to racial and ethnic relations, their significance, and how they should impact both individuals and cultural groups. Just as there is obvious variation between programs which utilize either cultural or cross-cultural matching, there is also variation within programs. Researchers note that "conversations with more than one individual at a given program at times yielded highly conflicting information and opinions" (Camino, 1992, p. 2). The chart below summarizes the main arguments and serves as a transition into the next section which delves deeper into these issues by placing them within a

sociological context. It aims to explain the roots of such diverse opinions and to address questions regarding how they should continue or interact in the future.

Table 5: Cultural Matching Arguments

In defense of cultural matching...	In defense of cross-cultural matching...
focus on the group level	focus on the individual level
common ethnic & racial ties are important	common ties between humans are important
shared racial & ethnic background is necessary for true foundation of trust & understanding	love, caring, common interests, & commitment are necessary to build trust
must be secure and knowledgeable about own group achievements & culture; group identity must develop first, then one can accept others	focus on group identity rather than self identity promotes exclusivity, separation, & social disunity; it retards true multiculturalism
mentors should come from within one's ethnic & racial community; this fosters group pride, teaches & preserves culture	mentors can contribute to and validate other racial & ethnic cultures without being of them; cultural competency can be learned
youth of color suffer from poor self-esteem, identity crises and psychological distress; important for them to have role models to identify with without compromising culture	youth can benefit from mentors of different racial & ethnic backgrounds; they can increase social competencies & develop repertoire of multicultural attitudes, skills & beliefs

SOCIOLOGICAL THEORIES/RESEARCH

The nature of prejudice

Given the nature of the cultural matching argument and the fact that it rests largely on different interpretations of the importance of race and ethnicity, it is appropriate to analyze what the problem of prejudice is as well as how natural its occurrence is in individuals. Gordon Allport's historical writings in The Nature of Prejudice (1958) provide a good starting point for such discussion. Although the definition has undergone a series of evolutions, he states that any explanation of prejudice must contain two essential ingredients: "reference to unfounded judgement and to a feeling-tone" (p. 7). While judgement may be positive or negative, most prejudice is directed toward groups, or individual members of certain groups, and is negative in nature. Hence, the majority of writings on prejudice include: reference to ethnicity, the concept of "ill-thinking", and unfavorable attitudes founded upon erroneous beliefs. Allport's (1958) complete definition is:

> Ethnic prejudice is an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization. It may be felt or expressed. It may be directed toward a group as a whole, or toward an individual because he is a member of that group. (p. 10)

Prejudice stems from the human tendency towards orderly living and categorization. "There is a natural basis for this tendency. Life is so short, and the demands upon us for practical adjustments so great, that we cannot let our ignorance detain us in our daily transactions" (Allport, 1958, p. 9). Categorization allows individuals to form large clusters of representations that guide daily living; in turn, these serve as mental "files" with which to assimilate new information, identify and understand related phenomenon, and enable quick decision-making. Often, categories are helpful, but when they become confounded with intense emotion, they can transform into irrational, inflexible patterns of thought. Again, not all overgeneralizations become prejudices. They transition from prejudgments/misconceptions to prejudices when they are not reversed in light of new knowledge. The fact that it is human nature to categorize and that the propensity towards prejudice has existed throughout history serves as no justification; prejudice "constitutes a bona fide psychological problem" (Allport, 1958, p. 12).

Just as humans categorize their thoughts, they also tend to form groups and stay apart. This permits prejudice to develop based on one's sense of group position. Blumer (1958) argues that "race prejudice is fundamentally a matter of relationship between racial groups" (p. 3). Prejudice becomes a collective process whereby a group's sense of social position will lead to: feelings of superiority, beliefs that another group is subordinate and intrinsically different, proprietary claims to certain privileges, and fears or suspicions that other subordinate groups pose threats to the prerogatives of the dominant race (Blumer, 1958). The fundamental components of this explanation of racial prejudice are that 1) it stems from a group's sense of social position and 2) it serves as a protective device of that group's integrity and power. The sense of a group's status is variable, a product of historical forces, and defined by the dominant group. Not only is social categorization of self and others inherently changeable, but comparative and context-dependent. Studies show that "in-group" and "out-group" definitions depend on frames of reference engendered by major social events and group relations (Haslam, Turner, Oakes, McGarty, & Hayes, 1992). Finally, "the collective image and feeling in race prejudice are forged out of a complicated

social process in which the individual is himself shaped and organized" (Blumer, 1958, p. 6). Although prejudice may be practiced by individuals, it is largely influenced by a person's status in society.

Intergroup relations

Realizing the nature of prejudice and its common tendency to grow out of one's group orientation, one may wonder how a society like the U.S. functions. Can groups bridge differences and work together? There is an entire body of literature pertaining to intergroup relations and the effects of group contact. While it is impossible to present an exhaustive review here, the following paragraphs attempt to provide an overall summary of the field through select studies and writings.

Perhaps the most significant research on intergroup relations began with Muzafer Sherif's study (1958) on the impact of superordinate goals in the reduction of conflict. He defined a group to be a social unit consisting of "individuals who, at a given time, stand in more or less definite interdependent status and role relationships with one another" and which "explicitly or implicitly possesses a set of values or norms regulating the behavior of individual members" (p. 695). Group members think of themselves in positive fashion while often viewing those belonging to "out-groups" negatively. Sherif conducted a number of experiments where he produced conflict between boys groups which affected their in-group relations (by heightening feelings of solidarity and cooperativeness) as well as out-group relations (by forging hostility). He then attempted to reduce it through imposing superordinate goals - "goals that could not be attained by the efforts and energies of one group alone and thus created a state of interdependence between groups" (Sherif, 1958, p. 700). Findings demonstrated that the introduction of common goals was effective in reducing intergroup conflict. By cooperating in activities which lead toward mutual goals, friendly interaction positively affected prior attitudes and stereotypes held toward out-group members. Sherif (1958) warned, however, that without superordinate goals, intergroup conflict will not subside.

Other studies have aimed to reduce intergroup conflict too, usually between racial groups. Like Sherif's experiments, they demonstrate positive results. The list that follows highlights findings:

- Luiz & Krige in 1978 implemented an activity program aimed at promoting positive attitude changes between white and black South African girls toward each other. The program evaluation

proved that positive changes occurred in both groups, with greater positive change resulting for black girls. When they tested the same girls one year later, the white girls still demonstrated positive attitudes towards black girls and vice versa. This confirmed that long-term change is possible through intense interracial social contact (Luiz & Krige, 1985).

▸Clore, Bray, Itkin, & Murphy (1978) measured changes in racial attitudes and behaviors at a summer camp where they implemented a series of week-long sessions promoting interracial contact between black and white children of equal status. The program consisted of intimate, prolonged, rewarding contact between racial groups where cooperation was required on tasks. They found that significant changes occurred in the reactions of black and white children toward each other. They predicted, however, that the positive changes might not last outside of the camp setting, primarily because "intergroup attitudes reflect social structure, and that the relative power and status of each group in the structure define how they perceive each other" (Clore et al., p. 116).

▸Another study of social change, attitudes, and actions was conducted at a racially integrated camp where the feelings and actions of black and white children were recorded over an intensive, two-week period. They were compared to test findings at racially segregated camps. The children were assigned to racially mixed cabins, and the counselors were authority figures who emphasized equal-status participation among races. Although radical shifts in interracial orientations did not occur after the two weeks, researchers found significant drops in same-race preferences and rapid behavioral adjustment to the situation. They determined that within a limited time span and with favorable situational supports (i.e, cabin arrangements, equalitarian direction and influence from leaders), interracial relations could begin to improve (Yarrow, Campbell, & Yarrow, "Interpersonal dynamics").

▸Deutsch and Collins (1952) investigated the effects of racially integrated public housing on the attitudes of white and black residents. Post-intervention interviews were conducted (mostly with white housewives) at four low-income projects in Newark, NJ and New York. White housewives demonstrated that, although they initially did not want to move into the integrated projects,

significant changes in prejudicial attitudes had occurred. Researchers concluded that "official policy, executed without equivocation, can result in large change in behavior and attitudes despite initial resistance to that policy" (Deutsch & Collins, 1952, p. 655).

▸Another study on whites' racial attitudes and how they can be affected by interracial contact was undertaken by Jackman & Crane (1986). They analyzed racial beliefs, feelings, social dispositions, and policy views of whites who had contact with black friends, acquaintances, or neighbors. They found that

> sheer proximity to blacks appears to be of little value, unless it is accompanied by personal contact, but proximity does have a direct effect of its own on racial attitudes when personal contact accompanies it, and the more personal contact there is, the greater the effect of proximity. (Jackman & Crane, 1986, p. 474)

Thus, high degrees of personal contact with blacks did significantly reduce feelings of animosity and social distance among whites. Nevertheless, the researchers state that positive changes in social dispositions were not matched by real changes in whites' racial attitudes or policy views. This sheds new, but pessimistic light on intergroup theory: whites' becoming friendlier with blacks may not affect the larger structural relationship of inequality between them because whites' thinking of minority groups does not change as readily as it does of individuals.

These and other studies suggest that intergroup contact can change racial attitudes and beliefs and reduce interracial prejudice. However, the nature of the contact is critical to the amount and type of change desired. For maximum benefits, it should take place in a noncompetitive context; sustained over a long period of time; be personal, intimate, and informal; and have formal approval from authorities (Jackman & Crane, 1986). "Inter-racial contact on its own does not necessarily breed tolerance...the benefit of inter-racial contact can be enhanced in friendly, informal settings characterized by inter-personal relations of mutual trust, respect and empathy" (Black, 1986, p. 13). Because intergroup contact is affected by numerous, context-specific variables which add complexity and a high degree of unpredictability, it is impossible to guarantee that outcomes will always be positive or of the same magnitude.

Stephan and Stephan (1985) propose that one influential factor is intergroup anxiety - the anxiety people experience when interacting with out-group members. They suggest through a model (see Appendix N) that intergroup anxiety is affected by three forces: prior intergroup relations, prior intergroup cognitions, and situational conditions. Furthermore, these produce an anxiety which influences the nature of the contact by affecting both groups' members; the behaviors (e.g., avoidance), cognitions (e.g., heightened self-awareness), and emotional reactions are subject to alterations. This example illustrates the intricacies characterized by models which try to examine intergroup relations.

Other researchers also attempt to predict outcomes based on the dynamics of variables like those mentioned above. For instance, Labovitz and Hagedorn's (1975) structural theory of intergroup antagonism interlinks the elements of social power, competition, labor force structure, and contact by suggesting that differing amounts of each result in various degrees of antagonism. In essence, they suggest that structural variables affect behaviors powerfully. If the resulting degrees of antagonism are low, then productive intergroup contact is more likely to occur; conversely, if degrees of antagonism are high, intergroup contact will lead to increased hostility (see Appendix O). Researchers have also attempted to integrate theory into models for children's group interactions (Black, 1986; Glock et al., 1975; Taifel, 1980). They suggest that educational instruction, which fosters more complicated and subtle thinking processes, will enable adolescents to: recognize when group differences are being falsely accounted for, understand how group differences evolve, and realize when group differences are exaggerated. Although the dynamics of intergroup relations are complex and multifaceted, studies show that positive changes in children as well as adults can be accomplished through awareness and manipulation of certain factors which create the tension.

Ideologies of assimilation

In light of the difficulties surrounding intergroup relations, ideologies have developed to explain the history as well as the future of societies like the U.S.. These conceptual models attempt to provide direction and structure for environments where diverse races and ethnicities must learn to live together. This field is important because "it has significant implications for the more familiar problems of prejudice,

discrimination, and majority-minority group relations" (Gordon, 1991, p. 248). It entails theories of assimilation, pluralism, and integration.

Assimilationist ideology has characterized most of U.S. history. It explains the dominant group's ways of thinking about minorities who were either conquested, enslaved, or arrived after Anglo-Europeans founded America. Within this ideology, there have been two main attitudes. The first was Anglo-Conformity which has probably been "the most prevalent ideology of assimilation goals in America throughout the nation's history" (Gordon, 1991, p. 249). This belief was held by whites who initially settled the colonies and by those who followed them from European countries; they wanted to maintain English institutions, the English language, Christianity, and English-oriented cultural patterns. Although these early settlers frequently welcomed immigrants into the U.S., they expected them to conform to the already established patterns of living. The dominant group's conception was that upon arrival in America, immigrants would leave their old lifestyles behind and adjust to becoming "Americans", which really meant adaptation to English ways. Of course, in regards to blacks and natives, their cultures were considered most inferior. These peoples were thought to be undeserving of the opportunity to become like the ruling majority, so they were deprived of any participation in mainstream society.

A competing assimilationist view was that of the Melting Pot. This arose in part when immigrants from non-English homelands (e.g., Germany, Sweden, Italy, etc.) arrived throughout the 18th century. With different styles and folkways, the white majority began to view America as a blending of different cultures; there grew "an underlying faith in the effectiveness of the American melting pot, in the belief 'that all could be absorbed and that all could contribute to an emerging national character'" (Gordon, 1991, p. 252). However, it became apparent to sociologists that despite the melting pot hypothesis, ethnic groups remained somewhat separate. Those from certain regions and of specific religions settled, married, and socialized among themselves. They formed ethnic enclaves in order to maintain native cultural patterns. Nevertheless, cultures like those of African- and Native-Americans were still were considered inadequate, unworthy of recognition, and incapable of contributing any value to the melting pot.

Ultimately, the trends of cultural preservation among immigrants, coupled with the realization that certain minorities were not free to express their customs, indicated that the concept of a homogeneous

American culture may be faulty. Ideology of assimilation could not characterize or shape America by force any longer. Hence, Cultural Pluralism evolved out of reality; in a sense, the theory followed fact. It is an "appreciative view of the immigrant's cultural heritage and of its distinctive usefulness both to himself and his adopted country" which emphasizes "liberalism, internationalism, and tolerance" (Gordon, 1991, p. 256). This approach consciously allows and encourages ethnic groups to flourish, to maintain distinct cultural patterns, and to preserve their heritage. As opposed to assimilation, cultural pluralism advocates integration: it urges people to recognize the need to work together as citizens of the same country, but simultaneously celebrates their individual differences. In essence, cultural pluralism can be thought of as a prescription for the U.S. comprised of two large challenges: social integration and cultural maintenance. This shift has not come about easily for it still demands conscious effort on behalf of everyone, especially those of the white majority who have reaped the benefits of power by suppressing others for so long.

How do past and current theories about the structure of American society affect the cultural matching argument? On one level, the two sides of the debate mirror the differences between assimilationist and pluralistic beliefs. Proponents of cross-cultural matching focus more on the individual, on human similarities that transcend ethnic and racial boundaries. Critics may think of cross-cultural matching as an assimilationist approach in which culture is ignored, and they may resent the attitude of "we're all in this together." In contrast, cultural matching defends group identity, particularly of minorities who have been forced throughout history to relinquish and/or be ashamed of their heritages. People may interpret cultural matching as a pluralistic argument which celebrates the maintenance of cultural differences. However, three important questions need to be raised:

1. *If the U.S. has become, or is in the process of becoming, a pluralistic society, is the underlying premise that groups cannot, or should not, work together because of their different cultural identities?*
2. *How much distance must there be in order to ensure cultural survival?*
3. *Is it possible that as pluralism argues for both integration and cultural boundary maintenance, that the matching argument may also have two sides that are "right" and dependent on situations, goals, and individuals?*

Such questions are extremely difficult to answer given their near rhetorical nature. Nevertheless, they must be faced. In confronting such a profound challenge, the exhaustive, and often times painful process of thought becomes more valuable than any end "result". Partial answers lie in D.A. Thomas's (1993) examination of 22 cross-race work relationships between black and white professionals. "The study showed that the parties' preferred strategy for dealing with racial difference - either denying and suppressing it or discussing it openly - and whether both parties preferred the same strategy influenced the kind of relationship that developed" (Thomas, D.A., 1993, p. 169). Researchers found that people come to cross-race relationships with established perspectives that are either assimilationist or pluralistic, and that those perspectives affect what type of relationship will develop. When black proteges denied or suppressed the salience of race in cross-race relationships, and their white mentors followed suit, D.A. Thomas found that such shared assimilationist attitudes led to "mentor-protege" relationships (characterized by instrumental career support and psychosocial support). Likewise, when both directly engaged in an awareness of their racial differences, their dual pluralistic approach also led to "mentor-protege" relations. However, when one person had an assimilationist approach and the other a pluralistic belief, relations of a different kind developed. These were "sponsor-protege" relations characterized only by instrumental career support (see Appendix P). What can be learned from this research? First, that "there is not one best way for people to manage racial diversity" (Thomas, D.A., 1993, p. 190); second, that cross-race relationships do not have to discuss racial differences in order to achieve higher levels of psychosocial support; and third, that mentoring relationships can vary in nature while still providing certain benefits.

Another model based on assimilationist and pluralist ideologies also illustrates the various ways of dealing with ethnic group membership in a diverse society. An individual's attitudes are said to result from different levels of rejection or acceptance of own group and dominant group cultures. Phinney (1990) emphasizes that "ethnic identity may be thought of as an aspect of acculturation, in which the concern is with individuals and the focus is on how they relate to their own group as a subgroup of a larger society" (p. 501). Accordingly, Phinney suggests that ethnic identity does not need to rest along a linear model, "conceptualized along a continuum from strong ethnic ties at one extreme to strong mainstream ties at the other" (1990, p. 501). Instead, it can be considered a two-dimensional process of acculturation in which

one's ethnic culture becomes important, but considered along with mainstream culture. The following table depicts the attitudes that develop within individuals depending on their identification with their ethnic group and with mainstream society (Phinney, 1990, p. 502). It adds value to the cultural matching discussion because it presents how a strong ethnic identity is not necessarily compromised through acceptance and work with other cultural groups.

Table 6: Acculturation as a Result of Individual Identification Patterns

Identification with majority group	Identification with ethnic group	
	Strong	Weak
Strong	Acculturated, Integrated, Bicultural	Assimilated
Weak	Ethnically identified, Ethnically embedded, Separated, Dissociated	Marginal

These two models barely scratch the surface of complexities which comprise the cultural matching debate, its significance, and most importantly, its implications for the future of ethnic/racial group relations in the U.S.. However, they shed some light on the validity of extremist arguments. They challenge the notion that one matching technique is inevitably "better" than another by presenting the realities that situations and intergroup relations are affected by individual variations. Perhaps the discussion should become less polarized and more focused on the facts: people are different, their relations with others are unique, and applying blanket approaches compromises the very diversity that pluralism tries to celebrate.

The following chapter delves a bit deeper into notions regarding ethnic identity and racial preferences. Its purpose is to complement the ideologies presented here with research studies. Then, two comparative case studies exhibit how similar debates around issues of cultural identity and matching exist in other social services. They do not discuss linkages with mentoring, but this was intentional as the likenesses become readily apparent. Using the present chapter as a base, one should be better prepared to review other fields' discussions and ultimately, to come to some conclusions about cultural matching and its appropriateness.

ANALYSIS OF CULTURAL MATCHING & ITS SIGNIFICANCE WITHIN A SOCIOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Allport, G.W. (1958). The nature of prejudice. Garden City, NY: Doubleday Anchor Books.
Required reading for understanding one of the most often quoted sources on prejudice. Explains many facets of prejudice, including its problematic nature, the normality of prejudgment, and formation of in-group loyalties.

Black, H.D. (1986). Racial intolerance: A child's perspective (Selected paper no. 48). Kensington, Australia: Foundation for Child and Youth Studies. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 286 578)
Explains details of prejudice and stereotyping and explores how they affect stigmatized children. Presents research on minority children's group identity, self identity, and their later ability to work with other groups. Offers strategies for combating prejudice through early education.

Blumer, H. (1958, Spring). Race prejudice as a sense of group position. The Pacific Sociological Review, 1(1), 3-7.
Important article explaining how race prejudice results from one's sense of group position rather than feelings which members of one group naturally have toward members of another group. States that race prejudice is a collective process that is highly dependent on groups' social position. One of first articles to address how notions of power, privilege, and fear of dominant group members create race prejudice.

Camino, L.A. (1992, August). Racial, ethnic, and cultural differences in youth development programs. Paper commissioned by the Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development.
Recent report on race, ethnicity, and culture and how these issues affect adolescent development. Chapters address racial and ethnic identity at the family and individual levels; poverty, prejudice, and acculturation factors; and multicultural program philosophies, structures, and content.

Center for Intergenerational Learning (CIL). (1992, Winter). Cultural sensitivity: A recurring mentoring issue. LinkLetter: A Newsletter of Linking Lifetime. (Available from CIL, Temple University, 1601 N. Broad St., Suite 206, Philadelphia, PA, 19122)
Discusses various topics pertaining to mentoring: matching techniques, matching considerations, problem matches, preparing youth for the relationships, and mentor training. One section, "Cultural sensitivity: A recurring mentoring issue", discusses the cultural matching debate.

Clore, G.L., Bray, R.M., Itkin, S.M., & Murphy, P. (1978). Interracial attitudes and behavior at a summer camp. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 36(2), 107-116.
Study on changes in interracial attitudes and behaviors at a racially integrated summer camp. Positive reactions occurred among black and white children. Factors for encouraging positive interracial contact included intimate, prolonged, rewarding contact with other races of equal power and status background. When camp climate of equality ended, researchers predicted that society's power and social structures would challenge the maintenance of positive attitudes.

Correia, P.R. & Munsell, G. (1992). Managing diversity: Making it work for you. Tulsa, OK: National Resource Center for Youth Services.
Collection of models, steps, and definitions which pertain to cultural/ethnic competence and understanding racism. Selected bibliography. Succinct and useful.

Davis, O. (1989, July 24/31). Challenge for the year 2000. The Nation, pp. 144-148.

Article written by long-time supporter and activist of the civil rights movement. Cites W.E.B. Du Bois and Martin Luther King, Jr.. Advocates for cooperation across cultural barriers so that the struggle for equality becomes a global struggle for human rights.

Deutsch, M. & Collins, M.E. (1952). The effect of public policy in housing projects upon interracial attitudes. In G.E. Swanson, T.M. Newcomb, & E.L. Hartley (Eds.), Readings in social psychology (pp. 646-657). New York: Holt, Rinehart, & Winston.
One of many studies on how whites' attitudes and behaviors changed as a result of living closer to blacks. Supports theory that increased, prolonged contact, endorsed by an authority, will lead to more positive interracial attitudes and a decrease in prejudicial beliefs.

Gordon, M.M. (1991). Assimilation in America: Theory and reality. In N.R. Yetman (Ed.), Majority and minority: The dynamics of race and ethnicity in American life (pp.248-261). Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
Historically based article which explains various assimilationist ideologies as they have shaped the U.S. and what the current theory of cultural pluralism entails. Incorporates different levels of acculturation into discussion and offers direction for American society.

Haley, A. & Malcolm X. (1965). The autobiography of Malcolm X. New York: Ballantine Books.
An extraordinary book which offers real insight into the African American struggle in the U.S. Malcolm X expresses his feelings and circumstances during vastly different life stages. Helps to truly understand blacks' emotions and opinions towards whites along a spectrum - from extreme separatist ideology to the incorporation of races for work towards social justice.

Haslam, S.A., Turner, J.C., Oakes, P.J., McGarty, C., & Hayes, B.K. (1992). Context-dependent variation in social stereotyping 1: The effects of intergroup relations as mediated by social change and frame of reference. European Journal of Social Psychology, 32, 3-20.
Study on social stereotyping and group attitudes. Researchers examined how stereotypes about Americans, during the Persian Gulf War of 1990-1991, were affected by the social change of war and variations in frames of reference. Findings support self-categorization theory, that social categorization of self and others is variable and context-dependent.

IUME (The Institute for Urban & Minority Education). (1992, August). The mentoring relationship in action. Briefs, (3). (Available from Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, NY, 10027)
Brief newsletter on mentoring, its goals, actions (social and psychological), and effects. Last page addresses the cultural matching debate.

Jackman, M.R. & Crane, M. (1986). "Some of my best friends are black...": Interracial friendship and whites' racial attitudes. Public Opinion Quarterly, 50, 459-486.
Article reviews contact theory and then presents results from a study of whites' racial opinions, feelings, social dispositions, and policy views. Findings indicated that proximity, personal contact, and shared socioeconomic status all impact intergroup contact. They discuss how social dispositions change more readily among whites than actual racial beliefs or policy views.

Kalbfleisch, P.J. & Davies, A.B. (1991, July). Minorities and mentoring: Managing the multicultural institution. Communication Education, 40(3), 266-271.
Investigation of mentoring relationships among black professionals. Study indicates that both black proteges and black mentors preferred cultural similarity in mentoring relationships. Researchers conclude that race is the strongest predictor of pairings and explain implications for corporations.

Leigh, J.W. (1989, April 6). Black Americans: Emerging identity issues and social policy. Inaugural

Publication of the Annual Ellen Winston Lecture. North Carolina: North Carolina State University, Social Work Program.
Interesting lecture from a cultural, psychological perspective in which the author describes how racism has held back true social policy in the U.S. and has caused Black Americans to rely on group identity for affirmation and empowerment. The development of minority group identity is addressed, as well as its positive effects on black self identity and biculturality.

Liebow, E. (1967). Tally's corner: A study of Negro streetcorner men. Boston: Little, Brown and Company.
Famous ethnographic study of black men living in Washington's inner city. Interesting analysis of the stressful conditions, bleak attitudes, and contributing factors to the lifestyles of streetcorner men. Unfortunately, this work seems timeless as many situations today can be compared to this study. Attention to details around family life, networks, and jobs.

National College of Juvenile & Family Law. (1991, November 17-20). The colors of juvenile delinquency. Conference conducted at the meeting of the National Council of Juvenile and Family Court Judges, Chicago.
Large collection of articles from popular magazines, newspapers, and agency research (including literature reviews and program listings). Valuable and current reading on many issues pertaining to diversity (e.g., racism, prejudice, multiculturalism).

Nobles, W.W. (1985). Africanity and the Black family. Oakland, CA: The Institute for the Advanced study of Black Family Life and Culture.
In-depth theoretical writing by a prominent African American social psychologist. Critiques concepts like "empirical research", "science", and "reality" by explaining how they are constructs greatly influenced by dominant Anglo culture. Presents a new framework based on African culture that permits true understanding of the Black family experience in the U.S.

Ogbu, J.U. (1990a). Mentoring minority youth: A framework. New York: Columbia University, Teachers College, Institute for Urban and Minority Education. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 354 293)
Discusses 2 ethnographic case studies of mentoring programs, and the differences and problems between them. Ineffectiveness of many mentoring efforts is attributed to the faulty social theory of the "underclass"; hence, the author offers an alternative framework for understanding problems in youth (specifically African Americans). Premise is that involuntary and voluntary minorities' problems and needs are different.

Ogbu, J.U. (1990b). Minority status and literacy in comparative perspective. Daedalus, 119(2), 141-168.
Article which explains the differences between autonomous, voluntary, and involuntary minorities, and how different statuses cause certain minority groups to perform less well than other minorities. Uses African American experience in the U.S. as example of an involuntary minority. Describes why crossing cultural boundaries and developing mainstream coping responses present challenges related to historical/social forces.

Ribadeneira, D. (1990, October, 18). Study says teen-agers' racism rampant. The Boston Globe, p. 35.
Presents the results of a national survey of teens and their attitudes toward race relations. The statistics reveal racial discord, mistrust, intolerance of others, and prejudiced ignorance.

S.W. Morris & Company. (1992). What young adolescents want and need from out-of school programs. Paper submitted to Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development.
One of few studies conducted on young adolescents' opinions regarding activity preferences, non-school time, gender issues, ideal programs, and ideal adult leaders. Study consisted of 135 focus

groups in the Washington, DC area where participants were 11-15 years old and representative of various racial and ethnic groups.

Schmidt, P. (1992, March 25). New survey discerns deep divisions among U.S. youths on race relations. Education Week, p. 5.
Presents the results of a national survey of 1,170 youths between 15-24 years of age. Negative findings revealed pessimism of race relations, prejudicial attitudes, and gaps between whites and minorities on economic and policy matters. Positive findings included similar beliefs on success factors and values.

Sherif, M. (1958). Superordinate goals in the reduction of intergroup conflict. American Journal of Sociology, 63, 349-356.
Historical study considered required reading for anyone wishing to gain background knowledge on intergroup conflict. Describes research study with boys groups where conflict was induced, but then reduced through superordinate goals, encouraging cooperation and close contact.

Steele, S. (1990). The content of our character: A new vision of race in America. New York: HarperCollins.
Written by an African-American professor, this book analyzes issues of race, power, identity, and policy as they affect black-white relations today. Accounts of the author's own personal struggles with these issues make this work extremely interesting. He speaks against black separatist/reverse-racist ideology and stresses the formation of individual identity over group identity.

Stephan, W.G. & Stephan, C.W. (1985). Intergroup anxiety. Journal of Social Issues, 41(3), 157-175.
Detailed model explaining intergroup anxiety, its antecedents, and its consequences. Describe each factor's impact on the production of anxiety or on the resulting intergroup contact.

Szulc, T. (1993, July 25). The greatest danger we face. Parade Magazine, pp. 4-5, 7.
Interview in which the question "Where is America headed?" was asked of Daniel Boorstin, Pulitzer-prize winning historian. His response warns that focus on separate religious, racial, and ethnic groups will destroy America, and that people should unite under human commonalities and a common destiny.

Thomas, D.A. (1989, Summer). Mentoring and irrationality: The role of racial taboos. Human Resource Management, 28(2), 279-290.
Examines interview results from cross-race mentoring relationships among black and white professionals. Author stresses how feelings of racial identity and the history of black-white relations greatly affect interactions today. Relationships characterized by racial anxiety impeded identification processes.

Thomas, D.A. (1993). Racial dynamics in cross-race developmental relationships. Administrative Science Quarterly, 38, 169-194.
Examines data from 22 cross-race mentoring relationships and analyzes the dynamics of individuals' preferred strategies for dealing with race. Suggests that when people have similar views, whether they be assimilationist or pluralist, stronger psychosocial bonds can develop.

West, C. (1993). Race matters. Boston: Beacon Press.
Academic writings by prominent African American professor. Brief, but dense chapters on critical issues facing blacks (e.g., dangers of the inner city and poverty, crisis of black leadership, affirmative action). Extremely interesting insights that provoke thought around topics such as racial reasoning and interracial tensions. Advocates that true multiracial society will only evolve through love and collective efforts.

RESEARCH ON RACIAL/ETHNIC IDENTITY, PREFERENCE, & SELF-CONCEPT IN MINORITY CHILDREN

"Finding out who you are involves relating to an environment which socially, psychologically, economically, and politically defines who one is."
- James W. Leigh (1989, p. 7)

Many advocates of cultural matching base part of their position on the conviction that minority children lack high levels of positive racial/ethnic identity and that they suffer from poor or confused self-concepts. They explain that "power differentials between majority and minority cultures exacerbate personal identity crises common during adolescent years" (Camino, 1992, p. 11). Minority children need mentors who share similar racial/ethnic backgrounds so that these adults can assist them in bolstering identity and self esteem. How does the research support or refute these claims?

In her review of 70 empirical research studies on ethnic identity in adolescents, Jean Phinney (1990) describes the state of the field:

> The theoretical writing far outweighs empirical research...In published studies on ethnic identity in adolescents and adults, researchers have generally focused on single groups and have used widely discrepant definitions and measures of ethnic identity, which makes generalizations and comparisons across studies difficult and ambiguous. The findings are often inconclusive or contradictory...The research overall presented a picture of fragmented efforts by many researchers working individually with particular ethnic groups and developing measures of limited generality. (pp. 499-500)

Regardless, Phinney believes the work accomplished thus far to be of significance if interpreted according to the reality that very few, if any, undisputed facts exist regarding ethnic identity. Since many research frameworks seem to overlap, she explains three approaches which provide a background for understanding the vast majority of studies. First, much research interprets ethnic identity to be linked to social identity; it deals with how membership in, or identification with, an ethnic group of lower status in society affects self concept and social identity. Another research approach views ethnic identity as an aspect of acculturation, "in which the concern is with individuals and the focus is on how they relate to their own group as a subgroup of the larger society" (Phinney, 1990, p. 501). The third conceptual framework in which to interpret research acknowledges that ethnic identity is achieved through active decision making and self-evaluation processes. It takes place over time and in stages.

Although many studies interpret and expand upon these three broad frameworks, it is not within the scope of this work to discuss of all of them. Rather, one can apply knowledge gained in prior chapters to consider select studies and decide how well their results match the firm ideology and staunch rhetoric behind cultural matching. The studies presented all attempt to answer these questions:

> Does a strong identification with one's ethnic group promote a positive self-concept or self-esteem? Is identification with an ethnic group that is held in low regard by the dominant group likely to lower one's self-esteem? Is it possible to hold negative views about one's own group and yet feel good about oneself?" (Phinney, 1990, p. 507)

Hopefully, a synthesis of research findings may shed some light on possible answers.

Some of the most well known studies on self-esteem, self-concept, and racial identity rely on a technique of doll play where young black and white children choose which race doll they wish to play with. It is important to keep in mind that this technique, regardless of widespread use, has been debated and criticized by many scientists. The method of study was first used in a famous experiment by Clark & Clark (1947) in which 253 black children, between 3 and 7 years of age and coming from both segregated and racially mixed schools, were asked to respond to a number of requests (e.g., "Give me the doll that is a nice doll"; "Give me the doll that you like best"). Their choices of either white or black dolls were then analyzed. The most shocking finding, and one that is still cited today, was that the majority of children, including blacks, preferred the white doll and rejected the black doll. Clark & Clark concluded that "the importance of these results for an understanding of the origin and development of racial concepts and attitudes in Negro children cannot be minimized" (1958, p. 608). Other studies prior to 1966 also reported that black children had an apparent preference for white, whether it be dolls or playmates. Interestingly, although 81% of "preference" studies from 1939-1973 claimed black childrens' preference of white, and therefore deduced that they must have low self-concepts, "during the same time period only 44% of the studies using self-concept scales found blacks with lower self-concepts" (Clark, 1981, p. 5).

As Butler (1976) points out, research on racial preference among black children, post 1966, now shows a preference for black. Similar to results prior to 1966, the more current studies hold true across geographical settings, under different methods of study, and in interracial and intraracial settings. Farrell & Olson (1983), in their study "Kenneth and Mamie Clark Revisited", conducted a study in 1979 with 151

black kindergartners in a midwestern industrial city. The children were enrolled in either racially segregated or racially desegregated schools. They found their results "startling": most of the children correctly identified themselves as black, and about 50% of the subjects preferred black dolls. Certainly, these researchers probably would have liked to observe 100% of their sample choosing black dolls. They state that "these salutary findings do not obviate the fact that color consciousness and racial preferences among young children and the larger black community are still issues" (Farrell & Olson, 1983, p. 294).

Another study in 1975 deviated from doll play by asking 167 black and 156 white primary school children, from poor communities, to draw figures with crayons. This technique was based on "strong evidence suggesting that children draw figures which they and the social group in which they are embedded value" and "that individuals reflect their self-concepts when drawing a human figure" (Dennis, 1966; Machover, 1949; both in Schofield, 1975, p. 3). Analysis of the figures found that black children drew figures which looked more like blacks than the figures drawn by whites, and that these findings contradicted earlier findings from the 1950s and 1960s. These "blacker" figures were viewed by researchers as potentially indicating a new acceptance of racial identity on behalf of black children. However, the data also suggested that "black children are not yet as accepting of their racial identity as are white children" (Schofield, 1975, p. 15); they were somewhat more likely to draw a white figure than a black one and also more likely to avoid the issue of race by not coloring in the faces of their figures.

Clearly, the more recent doll play and figure drawing studies contrast with earlier results found prior to the mid 1960s. Why does racial identity in black children seem to have improved somewhat? Feinman (1979) proposes that the psychological changes are due to the positive effects of black social movements. Other researchers as well have suggested that social movements of the 1960s have improved the self-image of black children (Farrell & Olson, 1983; Schofield, 1975).

> Racial self-identification and the preference of black children became more positive with the occurrence of both the civil rights and the black power/black pride movements. Racial-identification of the self was more likely to be correct in the time period of the civil rights movement than in earlier years. (Feinman, 1979, p. 497)

Nonetheless, the improved results still demonstrate that black childrens' racial identity is not as positive as that of white children. This cannot be overlooked despite more positive recent findings.

Other studies employ different methodology to study self-concept and self-esteem in minority youth, and they focus on slightly older children. For instance, Maxine Clark (1981) studied general racial group concepts (racial preference and racial attitudes) and self-esteem levels of 210 black children in grades 3 through 6. Seventy percent of the sample lived in low-income, predominantly black communities. Researchers administered a variety of self-esteem and attitude measures, but findings demonstrated no relationship between racial group concepts and general or specific self-esteem. General self-esteem refers to one's overall self-evaluation while specific self-esteem refers to the internalization of others' positive and negative values and attitudes (Clark, 1981). These results partially disproved Nobles' theory (1973) that racial group attitudes affect black individuals' self-concept. They confirmed, however, studies by McAdoo (1973; 1978) and Rosenberg (1979) which also found no relationship between black children's attitudes toward their race (which indeed may be negative) and their personal self-esteem. In short, the results "raise serious questions concerning the construct validity of instruments employed by previous researchers who utilized racial preference or racial attitude measures to make implications about self-concept or self-esteem" (Clark, 1981, p. 7).

Two other studies analyzed the stability of self-concept over time. Barnes & Farrier (1985) interviewed 5th and 6th graders in 1969 and then conducted follow-up evaluations with the same subjects 9 years later. The 483 children represented urban blacks, rural blacks, and Appalachian whites. All of the subjects showed a slight increase in self-concept over time, which led the researchers to conclude that self-concept remains relatively stable throughout adolescence and into adulthood. They also compared levels of self-concept between black and white subjects and found their results in agreement with other research: unless black children grow up in an environment that is prejudice-free, whenever they come in contact with white children in school, they demonstrate lower self-concept scores. A more recent study (Phinney & Chavira, 1992) examined changes in ethnic identity among 18 Asian Americans, Blacks, and Hispanics between 16 and 19 years of age. It evolved from numerous other studies which demonstrated the importance of racial/ethnic identity to minority group members and its impact on self-esteem. Although some studies examining this relationship have been inconsistent, others have found that low levels of racial/ethnic identity positively correlated to feelings of inferiority and low self-esteem. Phinney &

Chavira's (1992) study found that most of the participants demonstrated positive changes in ethnic identity, or maintained the highest level of identity if it was already attained by age 16. The researchers also noted that the majority who progressed reported strong social, family, and peer relations, while the two who regressed had low family interaction. Unfortunately, results were inconclusive as to the interaction of self-esteem and ethnic identity.

Finally, the literature mentions studies pertaining to models and their potential effects on imitative learning among youth. This research sheds interesting light on the cultural matching argument. One body of evidence focuses on the similarity of the model to youth, and how perceived similarity affects imitation. Rosekrans (1967) observed the interaction between 90 boy scouts, aged 11-14, and a male model who portrayed himself to half the group as similar to them, and to the other half as dissimilar. Interpersonal similarity was equated with background, group membership, skills, and interests. The data, as expected, confirmed other studies, stating that "perceived similarity to a social model influences the extent to which instrumental activities are imitated by children" (Rosekrans, 1967, p. 313). Burnstein, Stotland, & Zander (1961) reached comparable conclusions when 118 6th, 7th, and 8th grade boys were introduced to a male diver who described himself to some as being from a social background like theirs or to others as being from some far away, unknown region. Results demonstrated that "the subjects who were told that the diver was highly similar to them in background accepted his preferences relevant to deep-sea diving, more so than subjects who were told that he was not similar to them" (Burnstein et al., 1961, p. 264). Perceived similarity appears to affect imitation, as well as one's self-evaluation.

Other literature addresses effects of the model's race on imitation. Evidence here is less consistent. Breyer and May (1970), for example, found that when the racial characteristics between black and white 5-6 year olds and the model were the same, imitative learning was more consistent (there was less response variability). Likewise, Crane and Ballif (1976) determined that black boys, from grades 1-4, imitated a black model more than a white one. The boys' learning actually related to self-control, important proof of the type of learning that can be imitated. In contrast, a study by Kaluzny, Boyer,and Somervill (1973) asked 16 black and 24 white preschool males to solve a puzzle like one of two men. Although it was hypothesized that both blacks and whites would imitate the white model more, the

researchers found no evidence, among blacks or whites, of a general preference for opposite or like race models.

Questions over inconsistent findings persist. Perhaps the race of a model only impacts older children; if this is true, at what age does race become an influential factor? and why? In the absence of a same-race model, could children still learn behavior over time, just more slowly? Is personal self esteem truly independent of racial group concept, or are they somehow bound together? These questions remain unanswered, but bear heavily on the issue of whether cultural matching is necessarily better than cross-race matching of mentors with youth. Ambiguities in research should lead to doubts over the validity of any argument, and the studies presented here both support and refute claims that race is important in imitative learning, that minority youth have low self esteem, and that group concept is linked to self concept.

RESEARCH ON RACIAL/ETHNIC IDENTITY, PREFERENCE, & SELF-CONCEPT IN MINORITY CHILDREN ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Clark, K.B. & Clark, M.P. (1958). Racial identification and preference in Negro children. In E.E. Maccoby, T.M. Newcomb, & E.L. Hartley (Eds.), Readings in social psychology (pp. 602-611). New York: Henry Holt.

Required reading for anyone interested in the field of racial identification and preference. This historical study was one of the first to use the Doll Test with black and white children, and it opened discussion about possible detrimental effects of prejudice on black children. Children's responses to the Doll Test are analyzed by geographic region, age, skin color, and sex.

Clark, M.L. (1981). Racial group concept and self-esteem in black children (Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southeastern Psychological Association). North Carolina: Wake Forest University. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 205 266)

A study of the relationship of racial group concepts (racial preferences and attitudes) and self-esteem in black children. Results found no relationship between racial group concepts and general or specific self-esteem. Important study that addresses implications for the field.

Crane, V. & Ballif, B.L. (1976, November/December). Effects of black or white adult modeling with rule structure on adopting a standard for self-control in black boys. Journal of Educational Research, 70(2), 96-101.

This study measures the effects of modeling, modeling with rule structure, and race of model on adopting standards for self-control. Findings revealed that black boys exposed to a black model increased their number of self-control responses to a greater degree than black boys exposed to a white model.

Feinman, S. (1979). Trends in racial self-image of black children: Psychological consequences of a social movement. Journal of Negro Education, 48(4), 488-499.

Useful discussion of research pertaining to black children's self image. Compares results of their psychological status in light of recent social movements.

Kaluzny, S.M., Boyer, J.R., & Somervill, J.W. (1973, July-October). The effects of race of model on imitative behavior by black and white preschool children. The Negro Educational Review, 24(3-4), 116-125.

A study of 16 black and 24 white preschool males and their response to black and white adults models. The children were asked to solve a puzzle after watching both racial models solve it in different ways. The second experiment showed the same models, but in mild conflict. Results demonstrated no racial preferences among black and white preschool children. Study includes discussion about findings and how they relate to other studies on racial preferences.

Phinney, J.S. (1990). Ethnic identity in adolescents and adults: Review of research. Psychological Bulletin, 108(3), 499-514.

Extremely thorough review of 70 studies post 1972 pertaining to ethnic identity. Helps make sense of various definitions, concepts, methodologies, and theories. Emphasizes lack of structure in field while not negating value of studies thus far.

Phinney, J.S. & Chavira, V. (1992). Ethnic identity and self-esteem: An exploratory longitudinal study. Journal of Adolescence, 15, 271-281.

Examined changes in ethnic identity over 3 years among Asian American, Black, and Hispanic adolescents. Study found that significant change occurred toward higher stages of ethnic identity. Explains in detail other research and theories regarding the process of ethnic identity.

Rosekrans, M.A. (1967). Imitation in children as a function of perceived similarity to a social model and vicarious reinforcement. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 7(3), 307-315.
Investigation of the effects of perceived similarity of a social model on imitation in preadolescent boys. Findings indicated that higher perceived similarity to the model caused greater imitation. Good discussion of other research related to social models.

Schofield, J.W. (1975). Racial identity and intergroup attitudes of black children in segregated and desegregated schools. Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh, Psychology Department. (ERIC Document Reproduction Service No. ED 118 683)
This study analyzed figure drawings of black and white primary school children for indicators of: acceptance of racial identity, conflict over racial identity, and identification with occupational role models. It determined that black children may be more accepting of their racial identity than in the past, but still experiencing greater conflict than whites. Black children also drew fewer occupational role models. Lengthy literature review and discussion.

COMPARATIVE CASE #1: THE ISSUE OF ETHNICITY IN THE HUMAN SERVICES

"Comparisons are required in order to understand what may be the essential conditions of whatever we are trying to understand...We must observe whatever we are interested in under a variety of circumstances."
- C.Wright Mills (1959, p. 147)

The Foundation: The Helping Alliance

In order to understand the roles that ethnicity and culture play in the human services, one must begin by understanding the human dynamic behind such work. This refers to the helping alliance, a term used mainly in therapy, but whose ingredients enable the formation of similar bonds in other professional-client relations (e.g., social work). Through brief analysis of the helping alliance and some of its components, one will be better prepared to digest the discussion regarding how, and to what extent, therapists and social workers can counsel ethnically or culturally different clients.

Much of therapy today, including the theory of the helping alliance, has grown out of research from psychotherapy, which is the psychological treatment of emotional, psychological, and nervous disorders. The earliest analysis of factors contributing to successful psychotherapeutic outcomes can be traced back to Freud (1937), Rogers (1957), and Rosenzweig (1936) (in Luborsky, Chandler, Auerbach, Cohen, and Bachrach, 1971). Researchers wanted to know which factors influenced the processes and outcomes of psychotherapy, and to what extent. They determined certain attributes in patients, as well as in therapists and their techniques, which led to successful treatment results. Since this chapter's primary concern is how the ethnic or cultural background of a therapist affects treatment for minority patients, attention will focus mainly on what research says about "therapist factors" and "the match between patient and therapist."

For instance, in their review of 166 quantitative research studies, Luborsky et al. (1971) found "only three topics among the variety of explored therapist factors [that] have noteworthy relationships to outcome: the therapist's level of experience, his skill, and his interest pattern" (p. 152). As for studies on the match between patient and therapist, the majority demonstrate that "greater similarity is associated with better outcome" (Luborsky et al., 1971, p. 153). Forms of positive similarity include social class,

interests, values, and compatibility of orientation to interpersonal relations. The presence of these similarities enable both the patient and the therapist to "see each other as having a shared background, as being alike, and thus as able to understand each other" (Luborsky, Crits-Cristoph, Mintz, & Auerbach, 1988, p. 296).

As an offshoot of this outcome-oriented research, Lester Luborsky began to study the psychotherapeutic process itself. He and his peers determined that

> regardless of the type or psychopathology, the effectiveness of psychoanalytic psychotherapy would depend on the patient's and the therapist's capacity to establish a working relationship within which the patient's transference could unfold, be understood and interpreted, and his insight increase. (Kernberg in Luborsky et al., 1988, p. xii)

Hence, the terms therapeutic alliance, working alliance, and helping alliance are all used today to refer to aspects of the alliance or the relationship in its entirety (Horvath & Luborsky, 1993). Transference, an integral process in successful psychotherapy, can be interpreted as the reactivation of unconscious thoughts, feelings, and emotions which are brought into the conscious and transferred from the patient to the therapist through interpretation. Luborsky distinguishes two types of helping alliances: one is characterized by a patient who expects a therapist to be supportive and helpful, and the other by a patient who understands that if the two work together, s/he will achieve better understanding of self and conflict resolution. Sometimes the relationship will start with the first alliance but develop into the second later on. What is important to understand is the centrality of the helping alliance - the unique relationship between therapist and patient - to the ultimate healing of the patient.

Research on the therapeutic alliance falls into the following four categories: the relations between a positive alliance and success in therapy; the path of the relationship over time; the variables that predispose individuals to develop strong alliances; and the in-therapy factors which influence a positive alliance (Horvath & Luborsky, 1993). It is believed that among the factors predisposing individuals to develop or not be able to develop a strong alliance is the influence of their past experiences. While this may be crucial to understand for later interpretation of the debate around the role of culture and ethnicity in the therapist-patient relationship, it is equally important to note that the relationship is not wholly predestined by the past. The alliance itself, the "fit" of the patient with therapist, is a distinct influencing

aspect that actually interacts with past experience. For instance, "research results indicate a moderate-to-strong correlation between client-perceived empathy [offered by therapist] and some aspects of the alliance" (Horvath & Luborsky, 1993, p. 562). Results of other investigations suggest a reliable relation between the client's impressions of the therapist as expert, trustworthy, and attractive and the benefits s/he will derive from therapy. Studies also indicate that the therapeutic process is based partly on the patient's expectations of therapy and partly on the patient's attachment to the therapist, which stems from an assessment of the relevance and potency of interventions offered. The alliance is synergistic, interactive, dynamic, and reciprocal. "Successful alliance may not be a matter of direct matching of therapist-client characteristics but a product of complementarity" (Horvath & Luborsky, 1993, p. 567).

What if the patient enters into therapy and does not immediately feel an alliance with the therapist? Are there early factors that therapists should be aware of that contribute to high dropout rates? Indeed, findings indicate that one critical phase in the alliance occurs within the first five sessions of therapy and that collaboration and trust must be established early on in order for the patient to feel motivated and participatory. These "contribute to a sense of safety that is essential for...deep commitment to the therapeutic journey" (Horvath & Luborsky, 1993, p. 568); a therapist with a supportive presence will offer strength and understanding that most patients willingly accept. These issues of support and trust should bring to mind a concept described in an earlier chapter: Attachment Theory. Attachment theorist John Bowlby (1988) actually devotes a chapter to "Attachment, communication, and the therapeutic process" wherein he identifies one task (of five) as the most critical for a therapist to accomplish early on. He states that a therapist must provide a patient with a secure base by becoming a trusted companion who provides support, encouragement, sympathy, and occasional guidance. "Unless a therapist can enable his patient to feel some measure of security, therapy cannot even begin" (Bowlby, 1988, p. 140). Bowlby (1988) warns that each relationship is different, and that a therapist must be armed with the "widest possible knowledge" (p. 141) of how each patient's background may lead to misunderstanding of a therapist's good intentions. This reality, that a therapist must be flexible in his/her approach to developing a secure base, will resonate throughout the literature presented in this chapter.

Culture & Ethnicity in Counseling

With a general understanding of the helping alliance and its importance to therapist-client relations and therapy outcomes, it may be helpful now to review literature which more directly addresses the impact of culture and ethnicity on the alliance dynamic. Over time, opinions regarding the role of culture and ethnicity have changed. Early research was based on the "inferiority model" which presumed that certain ethnic minority groups were socially, culturally, and intellectually inferior to whites. In therapy, therefore, the duty of the therapist was to teach minority individuals to be more white. During the 1960s and 1970s, investigators realized the negative effects of institutional racism on ethnic minorities and operated according to the "deficit model". Individuals were no longer the culprits, but victims of dominant society; they "were considered deficient, underprivileged, deprived, pathological, or deviant" (Sue, S., 1983, p. 587). The realization that this model assumed that ethnic minorities were inferior, albeit not because of biological factors but because of societal forces, led to the most recent model of biculturalism or multiculturalism. This type of research emphasizes "the strengths, competencies, and skills found in ethnic families, communities, and cultures" (Sue, S., 1983, p. 587). It acknowledges similarities and differences of individuals across cultures while examining how cultures interact and exert influence over people.

Gibbs and Huang (1990) exemplify the realities of the bicultural model by identifying four ways in which ethnicity influences the psychological attitudes and actions of minority individuals. They state:

1. Ethnicity shapes one's belief system about what constitutes mental health and mental illness.
2. Ethnicity influences the "manifestation of symptoms, defensive styles, and patterns of coping with anxiety, depression, fear, guilt, and anger" (p. 8).
3. Ethnicity dictates, to a large degree, ones' help-seeking behaviors (i.e., who one turns to - a priest, native healer, herbalist, etc.).
4. Ethnicity patterns the way one will utilize and respond to therapy: their attitudes, method of disclosure, motivation to participate, etc.

From these examples, one gains a sense of how membership in an ethnic group "provides a cultural identity and a set of prescribed values, norms, and social behaviors for an individual" (Gibbs & Huang, 1990, p. 9) which will clearly affect one's approach to and expectations of counseling. Bicultural, or multicultural,

research is concerned not only with learning different cultural patterns, but also with individuals' unique and personal responses to those patterns. In other words, members of the same ethnic group can be exposed to a variety of different experiences; they easily vary in levels of acculturation, language proficiency, values, and perceptions of racism (Sue, S., 1983; Gibbs & Huang, 1990). The field of therapy today is evolving in order to provide its professionals with skills and knowledge that enable them to draw on a number of different treatment modalities depending on each client. However, this is not an easy task for progress is riddled by conflict.

S. Sue (1983) outlines 5 paradoxes that currently exist within the fields of social science and psychology. The first conflict is between an etic or emic approach. The etic approach emphasizes the universal similarities in humans across cultures while the emic approach stresses the influence of different cultures and how they cause differences in individuals. Traditionally, therapists have placed more emphasis on the universal/etic approach and have downplayed cultural variables, but they are currently trying to incorporate both into the therapeutic process. The second conflict concerns mainstreaming versus pluralism. Linked to the first debate, this "involves the extent to which ethnic minorities should be mainstreamed (assimilated) or be able to maintain ethnic cultural and behavioral patterns in a multiethnic society (pluralism)" (Sue, S., 1983, p. 584). Therapists are learning to balance both of these interests by blending "traditional mainstream knowledge and techniques with innovative, culture-specific conceptualizations and strategies" (Huang & Gibbs, 1990, p. 380). Another conflict exists between equal opportunity and equality of outcome. When equal access and opportunity to treatment is provided, there is no guarantee that outcomes will be equal; however, in trying to equalize outcomes, groups may have to be treated differently, thus affecting equal opportunity. Therapists also differ on whether to emphasize between-group differences or within-group differences. "The between-group approach largely ignores individual differences, whereas the within-group orientation often fails to deal adequately with actual cultural variations between groups" (Sue, S., 1983, p. 585). Therapists face challenges in trying to remember to integrate both sets of differences into one patient's treatment. The final conflict addresses the issue of racism. One perspective applauds society for its changes, while another condemns it for

perpetuating racial problems. Professionals must be mindful that where one stands in society greatly affects his/her opinions as well as their values orientation.

These conflicts reflect the complexities stemming from recent enhancements of racial, cultural, and ethnic awareness. Solutions, warns S. Sue (1983), should be diverse, innovative, and under constant reevaluation. Changes need to occur not only during a particular treatment phase, but throughout - from clinical assessment all the way through goal formation and maintenance. Moreover, transformations in the field should also involve varying types of therapy. For example, among ethnic groups that hold the family structure in high esteem, counselors may wish to consider the family systems approach instead of 1:1 treatment (Newlon & Arciniega, 1983). Increasing skills is not enough. For a truly pluralistic, multicultural society, practitioners must also have knowledge and display understanding of these cultural subtleties which deviate immensely from the traditional, white-oriented framework of service delivery.

How does all this affect therapist-client relations? What specifically does the research recommend for counselors who are of different cultural backgrounds than their clients? In general, clinicians admit that not all cross-racial/cross-cultural relationships are problematic, but they recognize the potential that exists for unique difficulties to arise (Davidson, 1992). As mentioned earlier, there are numerous factors which affect the positive or negative development of the therapist-client relationship. Since therapists cannot control the emotional baggage (i.e., preconceived notions about therapy, prejudices, attitudes, culturally-based values, etc.) that clients bring to the relationship, literature focuses on what therapists can control in an effort to establish trust, security, and a positive, long-lasting working alliance.

One conceptualization of clinical intervention is Strong's (1968) social influence process (in Davidson, 1992). This approach postulates that the therapist's influence is a function of the client's perception of the therapist as expert, trustworthy, and attractive. Thus, therapists can display expertness through: objective evidence like diplomas; behavioral evidence through rational, knowledgeable, and confident remarks; and by establishing a positive reputation. Trustworthiness will be perceived through the therapist's reputation for honesty, social role, sincerity and openness, and lack of desire for personal gain. Attractiveness is based on the therapist's familiarity, friendliness, likability, attitudinal or group membership similarity, and informality (Davidson, 1992). There are special challenges for therapists in

cross-racial counseling: their definitions of expertness, trustworthiness, and attractiveness are colored by their own cultural background. In order to ensure that their clients will perceive them positively along these dimensions, they must learn and truly understand the cultures, values, and traditions of their clients. Simultaneously, they need to engage in rigorous self-analysis to gain awareness of the nuances that their own cultural orientation imposes upon them. Finally, they must apply this education by developing ethnic-sensitive practice skills.

Sue and Zane (1987) suggest two strategies for therapists wishing to provide culturally responsive forms of treatment. They also argue that cultural knowledge and culture-specific techniques are insufficient means of guaranteeing a healthy helping alliance. Therapists need to consider the processes of credibility and giving, described as such: "Credibility refers to the client's perception of the therapist as an effective and trustworthy helper. Giving is the client's perception that something was received from the therapeutic encounter" (Sue & Zane, 1987, p. 40). Credibility can be enhanced through ascribed status (one's assigned role or position) and through achieved status (one's skillfulness at executing treatment). Research confirms that a therapist's competence or skillfulness at conceptualizing problems, offering resolutions, and helping formulate goals that are culturally compatible with the client's values and beliefs is an important variable in treatment outcomes (Luborsky, Barber, & Crits-Christoph, 1990; Sue, D.W., 1981; Sue & Zane, 1987). On the other hand, therapists need to remember that clients come to therapy to feel better and to improve their lives. They will lose confidence quickly if they do not feel an almost immediate benefit (i.e., if they do not receive a "gift") from treatment; this can come in the form of rapport, clarity around certain feelings, or assurance that one's experiences are not isolated or trivial. In short, therapists wishing to succeed in cross-cultural counseling should, among other efforts, build credibility in the eyes of their clients as well as offer them "gifts" to boost confidence.

Despite these social influence techniques, some researchers still question: "'Does the counselor have to share the cultural, racial, and class backgrounds of his/her clients to be effective?'" (Sue, D.W., 1981, p. 63). Several authors argue that interracial counseling is usually unsuccessful because of cultural/racial barriers; their argument is in favor of "race similarity". Others claim that "belief similarity" is more crucial, and they offer evidence stating that well-trained counselors can establish effective helping

alliances across racial lines. This debate has given rise to yet another awareness tool for cross-cultural counselors. A client's willingness and ability to bond with a therapist of a different race or ethnicity "depends very much on the stage of cultural identity in which the minority client finds himself/herself" (Sue, D.W., 1981, p. 65). Although this seems to imply that the power of forming a helping alliance is out of the therapist's hands, this is not wholly the case. Rather, the Minority Identity Development (MID) model defines 5 stages which typify different phases in the development of a minority member's identity. Therapists who understand these categories and their corresponding attitudes can tailor their presentation and style, in addition to raising their own ethnic/racial consciousness, in an effort to prepare for and refine the social influence strategies mentioned previously (e.g., credibility, trustworthiness, gift-giving). The following table summarizes the MID model (Sue, D.W., 1981, p. 67).

Table 7: The Minority Development Identity Model

Stage	Attitude toward self	Attitude toward others of same minority	Attitude toward others of different minority	Attitude toward dominant group
1-Conformity	Self-depreciating	Group depreciating	Discriminatory	Group appreciating
2-Dissonance	Conflict btw self-depreciating & appreciating	Conflict btw group depreciating & group appreciating	Conflict btw dominant-held views of minority hierarchy & feelings of shared experience	Conflict btw group appreciating & group depreciating
3-Resistance & Immersion	Self-appreciating	Group appreciating	Conflict btw feelings of empathy for other minority experiences & feelings of culturocentrism	Group depreciating
4-Introspection	Concern with basis of self-appreciation	Concern with nature of unequivocal appreciation	Concern with ethnocentric basis for judging others	Concern with basis of group depreciation
5-Synergetic Articulation & Awareness	Self-appreciation	Group appreciating	Group appreciating	Selective appreciating

This model is not so optimistic as to offer blind hope that a client in the Resistance & Immersion stage, for instance, will be open to a therapist of the dominant culture, especially because this is the phase characterized by greatest distrust and hostility toward majority group members. Nevertheless, these developmental phases should be understood by all therapists working with minority group members. As D.W. Sue (1981) explains: "Whether a counselor can work effectively with a person from a different culture/race depends on many factors of which racial and attitudinal similarity-dissimilarity are two important ones" (p. 68). Differences may not always be overcome, but the well-informed, skillful therapist certainly has a better chance at bridging the gaps of culture and race than one who is ignorant to such realities. Carter and Helms (1992) also stress how counselors can influence cross-racial relationships. In their study of how racial identity attitudes of both therapists and clients affect the counseling dynamic, they determined that "interactions are of better quality (e.g., focus on the client) when the counselor has resolved more of his or her own racial concerns than has the client" (Carter & Helms, 1992, pp. 200-201).

To complete the discussion of culture and ethnicity in counseling, it is helpful to review S. Sue's (1988) distinction between an ethnic/racial match and a cultural match. After an examination of two decades of research, Sue determined that "empirical evidence has failed to consistently demonstrate differential outcomes for ethnic and White clients" (1988, p. 301). Part of the research inconclusivity stems from confusion around moral and ethical issues, which cause some to view the shortage of minority therapists as unfair; other reasons include lack of actual treatment studies and poor conceptual and methodological constructs. However, research has shown that therapists who are ethnically matched with their clients (i.e., who can communicate in the language of their clients and who belong to the same ethnic group) will effect the length of treatment. For Asian-Americans, Mexican-Americans, and Whites (but not African-Americans), ethnic matches led to longer treatments, but not necessarily improved outcomes (Sue, Fujino, Hu, Takeuchi, & Zane, 1991). S. Sue (1988) claims that the issue of ethnic match may be a moral issue, whereas cultural matches may be more empirical:

> Ethnicity of a therapist or client and ethnic match are distal variables; consequently, weak or conflicting results are likely to be found between ethnic match and outcome. Ethnicity per se tells us very little about the attitudes, values, experiences, and behaviors of *individuals*, therapists or clients, who interact in a therapy session. What is known is that although *groups* exhibit cultural differences, considerable individual differences may exist

> within groups. Ethnic matches can result in cultural mismatches if therapists and clients from the same ethnic group show markedly different values. (p. 306)

Thus, ethnicity alone does not guarantee positive therapeutic outcomes. A Japanese American therapist who is working with a newly arrived Japanese immigrant may share the same ethnicity, but hold very different values and attitudes: they may be culturally mismatched. The implications of this distinction between ethnic/racial and cultural matches are tremendous. "One's ethnicity is immutable; one's understanding of, and sensitivity to, different cultures are not immutable" (Sue, S., 1988, p. 307). Simply being a white therapist, for instance, does not indicate that one is incapable of forming a helping alliance with clients who are ethnically and racially different, nor does it translate into automatic failure for such treatments.

Cultural Competence in Social Work

Literature pertaining to the relationship between social welfare workers and their clients is closely aligned with that of the therapy field. Again, although a social worker may not develop a true helping alliance in accordance with strict psychological definitions, s/he must establish some basic trust with a client in order to gain full cooperation and ultimately help the client achieve "success". Some of the research already discussed on how factors of a counselor and of the counselor/client match influence successful outcomes definitely apply to social work too. Additionally, as in therapy, there is no doubt that culture-free service delivery in social work is nonexistent (Navarro, 1980, in Pinderhughes, E., 1989, p. 13).

The history of social work and its response to minority needs in the U.S. has been shaped by three main ideologies. The first is the "cultural deficit perspective" of the 1950s and 1960s. According to this line of thinking, any cultural patterns which varied from mainstream norms were seen as deficient or deviant, and in need of correction. Social workers were supposed to socialize and acculturate minority group members into the dominant culture, which relied exclusively on traditions of the white middle class (Chau, 1991; Pinderhughes, E.E., 1991). Out of the civil rights movement grew the second ideology of social work. This "minority perspective" caused workers to realize the effects of racism, oppression,

discrimination, and prejudice on many of their minority clients; the practice of social work became more devoted to social reform, advocacy, and affirmative action (Chau, 1991). Yet this perspective paid little attention to cultural differences among minority clients and the role that culture played in affecting their needs and service delivery. Thus, the most recent, third perspective was born - an ethnocultural perspective which no longer views minority members as passive victims, but as competent individuals who, if delivered the appropriate services, can succeed. "The overriding requirement of the ethnocultural perspective is a positive acceptance and a sensitivity to the cultural strengths, values, beliefs, and the unique conditions and visions of the ethnic groups served" (Chau, 1991, p. 26).

Thus, the social work field today is in a state of transformation; it has been and continues to modify old treatment and service modalities in an attempt to encourage workers to practice ethnic and cultural competence. Why is it undergoing this dramatic change? As the U.S. minority population continues to grow rapidly, they continue to be overrepresented in the social services. However, evaluation studies prove that cultural inaccessibility leads to minority underutilization, no-shows, dissatisfaction, and high dropout rates (Lefley & Bestman, 1984, pp. 141-143). If these results continue, minority members will become strains on other systems (e.g., hospitals, institutions, welfare) and more importantly, they will be deprived of their right to achieve success and health in this country. Consequently, professionals are being taught a variety of concepts about the minorities they serve, the unique situations in which their clients live, and about how those circumstances affect their clients' beliefs and lifestyles. These concepts are outlined by Chau (1991) as follows:

- The **dual perspective** "highlights the nature of the two cultural environments with which ethnic group members must negotiate" (p. 27).
- The **ethclass concept** "details the influence of social class and ethnic group membership on life styles, life chances, and problems in living of ethnic individuals" (p. 27).
- The **sociocultural dissonance** model emphasizes how cultural transition or cultural incongruity creates stress, strain, and conflict for ethnic minority members.
- The **concept of dislocation** refers to "different types of deprivation of opportunity and social reward faced by minority individuals" (p. 27).

- The theory of **biculturalism** suggests that the degree to which minority individuals can function within the bounds of dominant society, while also maintaining their ethnic cultural identity, determines their success. This manner is preferable over assimilation.

All of these concepts shape the current models in use for training workers on how to become more ethnically and culturally competent. Social workers are learning new skills and strategies for assessment and problem diagnosis, goal setting, and service delivery (e.g., incorporating cultural support networks and indigenous practices). Additionally, services are being relocated, staff composition is changing, and new activities are being scheduled. All of these will "validate clients' cultural identity and reinforce their sense of value as individuals and as persons connected with worthwhile, competent groups" (Pinderhughes, E., 1989, p. 16). What follows is a selection of cultural competency training techniques and frameworks which provide a sense of how the social work field is preparing its workers so that they may serve clients of different ethnic and cultural backgrounds more appropriately.

Terry Cross (1988) designed the "Cultural Competence Continuum" which facilitates "an understanding of where one is in the process of becoming culturally competent, and prompts consideration of ways to respond to cultural differences" (in Sherrod, 1990, p. 29). It offers a succinct way of viewing the two ends of the ethnic competence spectrum as it is perceived by social work practitioners.

Table 8: Cultural Competence Continuum

	Stages Along Continuum	Description of Stages
1	Cultural Destructiveness	Attitude that one race is superior; destructive to individuals and cultures; facilitates dehumanizing minority client.
2	Cultural Incapacity	Ignorance and unfounded fear of people of color; affirms racism through practices and lower expectations of minorities.
3	Cultural Blindness	Attitude that permits systems and agencies to function under belief that color or culture makes no difference; encourages assimilation.
4	Cultural Pre-Competence	Recognize system weaknesses in serving minorities and try to improve services to specific populations; dangers are tokenism and false accomplishment.

	Stages Along Continuum	Description of Stages
5	Basic Cultural Competence	Further improvement of services by hiring unbiased workers, soliciting advice from minority communities, and actively try to meet needs.
6	Advanced Cultural Competence	Holding of cultures in high esteem; encourage dialogue, set up ongoing training programs, build cultural awareness; value difference.

Another conceptual framework was developed by Mizio (1981). In order to connect with ethnically different clients, he states (in Stevenson, Cheung, & Leung, 1992) that an agency must:

- identify aspects of racism, poverty, and sexism
- address the consequences of these problems
- deal with the impact of external systems on culture
- provide information on minority status and ethnicity
- know the implications of ethnic ties
- work with both micro- and macrosytems in the environment

Green's (1982) 5 recommendations are as follows (in Stevenson et al., 1992):

1. Be aware of one's own cultural limitations
2. Be open to cultural differences
3. Practice a client-oriented learning style
4. Utilize cultural resources
5. Acknowledge cultural integrity

Terry Cross (1990) also refers to steps similar to Green's and states that they are essential elements for becoming a culturally competent helping professional. "Differences are as important as the similarities" (Cross, 1990, p. 14), and only when workers truly understand both can they successfully interact with minority clients. The "dynamics of difference," states Cross, describe the stereotyping and culturally prescribed patterns of communication and interaction that occur naturally in cross-cultural interactions. These easily lead to misunderstandings which can become less destructive for workers committed to cultural competency. This is no longer considered a choice, but a necessity for social

workers. E.E. Pinderhughes (1991) actually states that "it is ethically incumbent on the individual with the greater power to examine carefully the question of whose values should guide the decision making, particularly when values are in conflict" (p. 600).

Without question, power in social work relationships always belongs to the welfare worker. The professional who understands the power dynamic - how it is maintained by the dominant society and how power and powerlessness affect the feelings and behaviors of clients - will be much more effective in ensuring the survival of his/her clients. How? E.B. Pinderhughes (1983) states that client empowerment is the critical path to helping those in the system; she defines it as "the ability and capacity to cope constructively with the forces that undermine and hinder coping, the achievement of some reasonable control over their destiny" (p. 334). The task posed to social workers in this framework, although linked to ethnic/cultural competency, is one where workers must give up their positions as "benefactors" in the societal projection process. Although acting as benefactors allows them to maintain self-worth and stability, it simultaneously reinforces powerlessness among their clients. The key steps, according to E.B. Pinderhughes (1983), are: to give up the power that has allowed workers to treat clients like needy victims; to understand that the best way to help them is to empower them; and to teach them and share power with them. In this way, social workers will liberate themselves as well. This framework presents another method of how helping professionals can achieve true understanding of and respect for people of cultures and ethnic backgrounds different from their own.

Stevenson et al. (1992) propose an approach, in slight contrast to the more general ones presented above, which is specifically tailored to training Child Protective Services (CPS) workers. It developed out of the realization that most CPS workers today are white, while children of color comprise the majority of their caseloads. Furthermore, they realized that even minority CPS workers come in contact with families who are ethnically and culturally different from themselves. Therefore, in developing an entire systematic approach to ethnic sensitivity training, Stevenson et al. (1992) based their effort on the following:

1. The assumption that individuals' ethnic or cultural backgrounds influence their worldview, and by recognizing this, they become aware of how their *values* and *attitudes* may affect the way they treat their clients.

2. The assumption that learning about various cultural groups and gaining *knowledge* will contribute to understanding how individuals from other groups experience life.

3. The assumption that counseling and intervention *skills* can be taught so that they can be put to use with members of various ethnic groups.

In short, acknowledging one's own values and biases is not enough, but must occur in conjunction with the acquisition of knowledge about how other group members think and operate, and with the learning of skills about how to interact with people different from one's own upbringing. In this way "ethnically sensitive practice requires that key elements not only of the client system but also of the worker system be clearly identified" (Stevenson et al., 1992, p. 295). How exactly does building a cultural knowledge and skill base occur? Lefley & Bestman (1984) offer a number of suggestions for social workers and agencies:

- familiarization with available literature
- ongoing consultation and review with ethnic consultants
- exposure to cultural experiences and lifestyles
- awareness of client utilization patterns
- involvement of clients' families and significant others
- sensitivity to belief systems
- prescription of treatment plans which are adaptive to clients' cultures
- interpretation of communication difficulties and behaviors
- continual reference to cultural material

Cultural and ethnic competency also goes a step beyond learning, accepting, and integrating different cultural dynamics. It realizes that just as cultures are not uniform, neither are the individual members within them. The culturally competent social worker will always take care to "individualize" their client and recognize variation in people's behavior (Green, 1982). In this way, both the macro- and

microperspectives are appreciated. Cross-cultural social work means much more than simple contact with clients of various cultures. It means knowledge, skill, awareness, self-consciousness, respect for difference, and sensitivity.

COMPARATIVE CASE #1: THE ISSUE OF ETHNICITY IN THE HUMAN SERVICES ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Carter, R.T. & Helms, J.E. (1992, October). The counseling process as defined by relationship types: A test of Helms's interactional model. Journal of Multicultural Counseling and Development, 20, 181-201.

A research study which tested the hypothesis that specific combinations of racial identity attitudes among clients and therapists affected the counseling process and outcome. Findings indicated that interactions were of higher quality when the counselor resolved more racial concerns than the client.

Chau, K.L. (1991). Social work with ethnic minorities: Practice issues and potentials. Journal of Multicultural Social Work, 1(1), 23-39.

Reviews the history of perspectives influencing the way social work has responded to minority needs. Presents several concepts affecting current ethnic competency models, as well as main practice areas, how to incorporate those models, and problems to be aware of in the future.

Davidson, J.R. (1992). White clinician - Black client: Relationship problems and recommendations for change from a social influence theory perspective. Journal of Multicultural Social Work, 1(4), 63-75.

Explains historical problems of the interaction between black clients and white therapists. Uses social influence theory to advise therapists committed to crossing racial boundaries; explains concepts of expertness, trustworthiness, and attractiveness. Recommends educational, policy, and process objectives.

Gibbs, J.T. & Huang, L.N. (Eds.). (1990). Children of color: Psychological interventions with minority youth. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.

Consists of chapters which discuss issues involved in clinical assessment and treatment of minority youth from 6 major ethnic groups and 2 emerging special populations. They describe cross-cultural approaches as well as social, environmental, and historical factors as they apply to each group.

Green, J.W. (1982). Cultural awareness in the human services. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall.

Divided into two parts which together provide a thorough overview of culture and its implications for human services. Part I explains various cultural aspects: ethnicity, the influences of culture on behavior and attitudes, how to approach ethnic competency, and the significance of language. Part II is an edited collection which details how social services should approach Black, Asian and Pacific, American Indian, and Chicano communities.

Horvath, A.O. & Luborsky, L. (1993). The role of the therapeutic alliance in psychotherapy. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 61(4), 561-573.

Traces the development of the helping alliance by categorizing research under 4 headings: the relations between a positive alliance and success in therapy, the alliance over time, variables which predispose individuals to certain types of alliances, and in-therapy factors affecting the alliance. Succinct article which presents well the role of the alliance.

Jenkins, S. (1981). The ethnic dilemma in social services. New York: The Free Press.

Describes a number of ethnic field studies undertaken by the author both in the U.S. and abroad. Explains the conflicts and confusion surrounding the role of ethnicity and offers a typology of services that all social agencies can utilize. Appendix includes an attitude instrument for ethnic agency workers.

Luborsky, L., Barber, J.P., & Crits-Christoph, P. (1990). Theory-based research for understanding the process of dynamic psychotherapy. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 58(3), 281-287.
Reviews research in 6 areas, all of which are central to psychotherapy. Explains transference, the effects of the therapist-client relationship, and the working alliance. Also includes suggestions for further research. Useful article to gain general understanding of psychotherapy.

Luborsky, L., Crits-Christoph, P., Mintz, J., & Auerbach, A. (1988). Who will benefit from psychotherapy?. New York: Basic Books.
Clinical psychology book which details Luborsky's methodological framework for testing individualized transferences and evaluating the therapist's capacity to become aware and respond to them. Although very technical, the second part explains the helping alliance, background research on the dynamic, and factors affecting it.

Pinderhughes, E. (1989). Understanding race, ethnicity, and power: The key to efficacy in clinical practice. New York: The Free Press.
Explains cross-cultural problems in human services (particularly counseling) by devoting whole chapters to understanding race, difference, power, and ethnicity. Then integrates these concepts with practice by recommending ways of dealing cross-culturally during various stages of treatment delivery.

Stevenson, K.M., Cheung, K.M., & Leung, P. (1992, July-August). A new approach to training Child Protective Services workers for ethnically sensitive practice. Child Welfare, 71(4), 291-305.
Explains the challenges and frameworks of ethnically sensitive social welfare practices. Offers a new approach to training CPS workers, one which involves training and evaluation, and enhances attitudes, knowledge, and skills.

Sue, D.W. (1981). Counseling the culturally different (chap. 3). New York: John Wiley & Sons.
This chapter, entitled "Credibility and racial/cultural similarity in cross-cultural counseling," explains why belief similarity is more important than racial similarity. Describes the psychological sets of clients and the therapist skills which affect the relationship. Proposes useful model of Minority Identity Development.

Sue, S. (1983, May). Ethnic minority issues in psychology. American Psychologist, 38(5), 583-592.
Explains the complexity of minority issues in counseling by presenting 5 current conflicts among researchers and practitioners. Examines historical trends in ethnic minority research. Discusses policy issues of implementation and advises that solutions be diverse and dynamic.

Sue, S. (1988, April). Psychotherapeutic services for ethnic minorities. American Psychologist, 43(4), 301-308.
Critical article addressing the controversy over whether cross-ethnic or cross-racial counseling can be effective. Presents existing research of both sides. Argues that it is misconceptualized, that the issue should not be one of matching ethnicity or race, but of matching cultural understanding and sensitivity.

Sue, S., Fujino, L.H., Hu, L., Takeuchi, D.T., & Zane, N.W.S. (1991). Community mental health services for ethnic minority groups: A test of the cultural responsiveness hypothesis. Journal of Consulting and Clinical Psychology, 59(4), 533-540.
A research study which tested the hypothesis that therapist-client matches in ethnicity and language are beneficial to clients. Investigation involved African-Americans, Asian-Americans, Mexican-Americans, and Whites. Findings indicated that ethnic matches extended the length of treatment, but not the outcomes, thereby supporting the cultural responsiveness hypothesis.

Sue, S.S. & Moore, T. (Eds.). (1984). The pluralistic society: A community mental health perspective. New York: Human Sciences Press.
Excellent collection of articles, mostly written by researchers belonging to ethnic minority groups. Integrates community psychology theories with research findings to foster understanding of modern society, ethnicity, culture, and how these factors should be translated into new social policies and agency services. Particular focus on the mental health field.

Sue, S. & Zane, N. (1987, January). The role of culture and cultural techniques in psychotherapy. American Psychologist, 42(1), 37-45.
Identifies problems with cultural sensitivity frameworks which only focus on cultural knowledge and culture-specific techniques. Reminds therapists of within-group differences. Offers a reformulation of cross-cultural therapy frameworks by adding the processes of credibility and giving, and then discussing their implications to the field.

COMPARATIVE CASE #2: TRANSRACIAL ADOPTION

"Can a family from one racial background help a child from a different racial background develop positive self-esteem and an appropriate racial identity?"
-McRoy, Zurcher, Lauderdale, & Anderson (1982, p. 522)

Transracial adoption, the process of adopting children of a race or ethnicity that is different from the adoptive parents, is a controversial issue which has at its core questions about the role of race and ethnicity in modern society. Although it can refer to any racial/ethnic combination of parents and children, most transracial adoption debates pertain to the adoption of minority youth by white families. Some adoption agencies, parents, lawmakers, and other citizens believe that transracial adoption should be permitted; they cite statistics which highlight the growing numbers of children in foster care or institutions, as well as the imbalance of minority children waiting to be adopted and the majority of parents wanting to adopt. For instance, between 1986 and 1991, the number of children in foster care in the U.S. rose by 50%. One state's report on its foster care system identified 54% of the children waiting to be adopted as nonwhite and 87% of the waiting prospective parents as white. Another recent national statistic shows that of "hard-to-place" potential adoptees (children who are adopted), 2/3 are black, but 2/3 of families waiting to adopt are white (Bartholet, 1993).

In contrast, those who oppose transracial adoption, and thus favor in-racial/same-race adoption, argue that the practice is equivalent to cultural genocide. They, mostly Blacks, view the history of adoption services in the U.S. as just another symptom of discriminatory treatment towards African Americans. Beginning in the 1920s as privately-run agencies, adoption services often practiced racial exclusion. Their purpose

> was to assist white couples seeking healthy white infants placed for adoption predominantly by unmarried mothers unable to care for their babies themselves. Because private agencies derived most of their funding from the fees paid by adoptive parents, their goal was to place as many infants as possible with white couples." (McRoy, 1989, p. 147)

Although public agencies increased, adoption services remained mostly available for whites, while foster care became the avenue for blacks (in addition to informal adoption networks in the black community). During the 1950s and 1960s, despite focus on integration and expansion of child welfare services for all

children, blacks still remained disproportionately in foster care, victims of an adoption system, some say, which catered to and was established on ethics of the white middle class. Interestingly, the 1960s also heralded the use of contraception and abortion which resulted in a drastic decrease in the availability of healthy white babies. From 1968 to 1970, the number of black children placed with white families doubled each year (Auld, 1993). During the first half of 1972, more than enough white families were identified per 100 white accepted adoptees, while only 50 nonwhite families were approved per every 100 nonwhite children (Smith, 1972 in McRoy, 1989). Undoubtedly, as white families continued to want to adopt, and children of color constituted the majority of children needing homes, transracial adoption slowly gained acceptance in the white community. However, same-race advocates state that this occurred at the expense of maintaining black culture and group identity. Between 1968 and 1971, transracial adoptions increased threefold (McRoy, 1989). Out of alarm, the National Association of Black Social Workers (NABSW) in 1972 protested the process, affecting agency policies and reducing the number of transracial matches dramatically. Their stance represents the most adamant position against transracial adoption.

Research then began to test the validity of the NABSW's convictions; much of it is presented later in this chapter. By the mid- to late 1980s, white families began protesting the "ban" on transracial adoptions so that today, there is a slight trend in favor of the practice. Nevertheless, much confusion and controversy exists among agencies, families, and even the courts. Although the courts have "consistently concluded that categorical bans on transracial adoptions are not permissible," they have never "held that the races of parent and child should never be considered relevant" (American Humane Association, 1992, p. 2). Most agencies prefer same-race placement if possible, but they differ on how long they should allow minority children to wait in foster or institutionalized care before finding parents of the same race/ethnicity. Finally, many agencies are beginning to focus on the ability of the prospective parents to cope with issues related to the child's different background.

Joan Hollinger, a UC Berkeley visiting law professor and the nation's foremost expert on adoption, is drafting the nation's Uniform Adoption Act. This act proposes to promote the welfare of children by: encouraging diverse individuals to adopt, by prohibiting the categorical exclusion of anyone from being considered as an adoptive parent, and by prohibiting racial/ethnic matching policies that delay or deny

adoption to children in need of adoptive families (Office of Public Info, 1994). It seems to address the facts put forth by proponents of transracial adoption - that large numbers of black children are in need of homes, but are spending significant amounts of their childhood in foster homes and institutions because of the policies against transracial placement; that minority children are disproportionately represented in the population waiting to be adopted; that they will wait longer than white children; and that they are less likely to be placed.

Most of the literature and research around transracial adoption refers to black children being adopted by white families. This phenomena represents the fact that those who oppose the practice most vehemently and publicly are African Americans (although not all blacks oppose it). Thus, in the following sections on ideologies and research, much of the information is presented in terms of black and white families and children. This is not an oversight, but a reflection of the available literature. Once again, in reading this chapter, one should concentrate on detecting similarities between the controversy surrounding transracial adoption and that of cultural matching in the field of mentoring. Although adoption and mentoring are by no means equal acts, there are still some common themes which deserve attention.

Ideology in favor of transracial adoption

Proponents of transracial adoption believe strongly in the practice as a means of providing children with the homes they need and deserve. The following is a list of their main arguments, all of which convey their primary concern for the individual welfare of children.

Table 9

Arguments in favor of Transracial Adoption (TA)
Black children adopted by whites may actually benefit from crossing racial boundaries. They may develop special interpersonal skills that enable them to bridge cultures and to operate comfortably in a pluralistic environment.
Belief against TA is unsupported by longitudinal studies; there is no proof that long-term TA hurts adoptees. Argument is pure rhetoric.
Research studies indicate positive results from TA: "It is myth that transracially adopted kids must inevitably have psychological problems" (Simon, 1988, p. 2).

Arguments in favor of Transracial Adoption (TA)
Black children growing up in white homes develop a positive sense of racial identity and knowledge about their history and culture. Even though white families foster this sense to varying degrees, there is no evidence that black parents do a better job in fostering racial pride.
TA might facilitate resolving identity crises because children would be less likely to have delusions that their adoptive parents were their biological parents. They would also know they were adopted because of who they are, not their color.
Placing a black child in a white home is better than leaving him/her in foster care or an institution: "Adoption...gives children the love, security, and stability of a family and a home without the fear of disruption and removal" (Simon, 1988, p. 2).
Policies against TA "are inconsistent with the oft-proclaimed principle that the best interests of the child should be determinative" (Bartholet, 1993, p. 93).
Adoptive parents are aware that development of racial identity and pride are the most difficult tasks for children adopted transracially. They definitely need support and guidelines, but this reality should not prevent them from adopting transracially. Recommendations for parents include: provide a strong support system, recognize differences among races, celebrate variety, live in an integrated community, expose child to diverse cultures, help child understand how s/he is different from parents, learn parenting skills that can help child with hair and skin care that may be different from parents, expose children to their cultural heritage, and recognize that transracial adoption requires parents to make changes in their lifestyle for child's benefit and growth.
Opposition to TA is reverse racism.
Opposition also reflects separatist ideologies coupled with "biologism" (the pseudo-scientific belief that biological sameness makes families work better).
Parents willing to adopt transracially are courageous, withstand a generally negative climate, and face unique challenges. Since their decision is a conscious and informed one, it is likely that they will put effort into raising their child properly (i.e., with racial identity and pride).
The "argument that transracial adoption will lead to cultural genocide is preposterous" (Wardle, 1992, p. 29) and unethical. It places the preservation of a group above the basic needs of individuals. Children have an inalienable right to a family.
Opposition seems to advocate racial segregation.
Many blacks also disagree with the NABSW and actually support TA.
Many transracial adoptees are older children of school age who have experienced multiple placements and display learning and behavior problems. A large percentage are African American males. "The profile of families adopting older children with special needs is very different from that of infant adopters...They bring a different set of expectations to the adoption experience" (Kroll, 1994, p. 1). These children most need patience, commitment and love.
"Informed observers of the adoption scene - people who see racial matching policies in operation - believe there is a strong causal connection between the policies and the delays and denial of placement that minority children face" (Bartholet, 1993, p. 100).

Ideology in favor of same-race adoption

Advocates who are opposed to transracial adoption view the process as one which compromises the total development of children of color. Simultaneously, it also harms entire minority groups by allowing the white dominant majority to adopt children who will never be able to fully learn about, contribute to, or integrate into their lives their cultural heritage. This group equates transracial adoption with other assimilation techniques that have been used to destroy minority cultures. Here is a list of their main arguments, most of which convey their primary concerns for minority youth identity and cultural group preservation.

Table 10

Arguments against Transracial Adoption (TA)
Placement of black children in white homes is like racial and cultural genocide.
The African American family needs to be maintained and must preserve its integrity.
The question of whether TA should be permitted is racist because few, if any, adoption agencies question whether black families can adopt white children.
"'We strongly believe Blacks should adopt Black children and, if provided an opportunity to do so, they will'" (Dr. Morris Jeff, president of NABSW, in Leavy, 1987, p. 78).
TA robs black children of their racial identity and causes serious psychological problems in adolescence and adulthood. White parents tend to emphasize the "human race" over separate unique races; this compromises a child's ancestry and culture.
TA prevents black children from developing coping mechanisms needed to live in a racist society.
TA does not allow "maximum development" for blacks. A child can't develop into "a total black person" if s/he lives in a white family. Their desire to assimilate and feel comfortable may lead to rejection of reality: racial differences.
Love is not enough: Mrs. Ashton, wife of a white couple who adopted 2 black boys, states, "'When we adopted our children, we thought love would be enough, but over the years we found it's not enough. Because you love the child and the child loves you very much, that's not enough to make sure that the end result is a strong, self-confident human being'" (in Leavy, 1987, p. 80).
Being black in a white family causes confusion over loyalties and stress: Adrian Parry, a 23 year old, says he was adopted by a white family at the age of 15. Being the only black at family functions created awkwardness and anxiety for him. Even though everything worked out, he says he wouldn't "wish this on anybody" (in Leavy, 1987, p. 80).
Transracial adoptees experience more racism than black children in black families.

Arguments against Transracial Adoption (TA)
Adoption agencies don't go about recruitment the right way. They only make token efforts at finding black families, mostly because they do not understand black family dynamics. It is untrue that there aren't enough black families - it's just that some are single, the parents are over 40, and they live on modest incomes. Adoption services need organizational change and guidelines "which will facilitate the development of Black adoptive families rather than the exclusion of such families from the adoptive process" (National Black Child Development Institute [NBCDI], 1987, p. 3). Proposed measures pertain to recruitment and assessment measures. They include creating awareness in black community of needs of black children, offering information about adoption, breaking suspicions in black community about bureaucracy, having black social workers who can build trust in community through direct contact and local networks, realizing the "need to adopt a totally different model of the 'successful family' and to discard our white family model" (Brunton & Welch, 1983, p. 17), accepting the value of black families, and considering subsidized adoptions, as well as single-parent adoptions for minority families.
It is a right: "Black children for whom adoption is the best resource have a right to nurturance and development in homes in the Black community" (NBCDI, 1987, p. 4).
Part of black culture is to care for children who are not biologically one's own. This practice deserves the right to continue, without discrimination from mostly white-run agencies.
Even some white adoption agency practitioners admit: "It has become distressingly more apparent that beneath many of our doubts and misgivings lies an attitude of racial prejudice and that we, in common with the vast majority of white people, can be guilty of racism. It is not easy for us to see this in ourselves. But unless we can acknowledge our own racism and work on it, we will remain trapped in our current beliefs and will fail to do justice to black children in care and to black families offering their services" (Brunton & Welch, 1983, p. 17).
NABSW notes that "white families generally are not seeking to adopt an older, emotionally impaired, or physically disabled black child - the child likely to be lingering in foster care - but instead they wish to adopt healthy black infants for whom black families are also often available" (Lee, 1987 in McRoy, 1989, p. 152).
Decisions about the black family and in particular children, are, like most historical cases, being decided by the white majority.

Research studies

It is important in understanding any debated issue to first review the ideologies espoused by both sides and then compare them with existing research. A fair amount of research on various aspects of transracial adoption has been conducted over the past 20 years. Although the following list is not exhaustive, it represents the majority of research, particularly those studies which 1) are most often referenced and cited and 2) are most directly concerned with the effects of transracial adoption on children. One final caveat: the studies are in list form and without commentary for the specific purpose

of presenting the facts. The intention is that the reader will develop his/her own conclusions about how well each side's rhetoric is grounded in reality. A brief summary of the studies follows which then concludes the chapter with some thought-provoking questions from the literature.

GENERAL RESEARCH FACTS:

▸Studies of transracial adoptees at grade school age found that children did as well as children adopted in-racially (Fanshel, 1972; Grow and Shapiro, 1974; Ladner, 1977; Simon and Alstein, 1977; Zastrow, 1977).

▸Ladner (1977), Grow & Shapiro (1974), & Simon and Alstein (1977) identified adoptive parents who tried to deny racial differences by emphasizing the "human race" instead of specific ones.

▸Among preschool children, studies indicate that transracially adopted children "develop a concept of blackness and of themselves that is more positive than that of black children adopted by black parents" (Simon & Alstein, 1977; Shireman & Johnson, 1980; in Johnson, Shireman, & Watson, 1987, p. 47).

▸Simon & Alstein (1977) and Rich (1985) determined this about transracial adoptees (in Simon, 1988):

- ▸90% or more of adopted children said they enjoyed their family life.
- ▸About 80% of non-white adopted children agreed that people in their families trusted one another.
- ▸More than 90% of adoptees said their parents would stick by them if they were in trouble. The amount was similar for white adoptees and families' natural-born children.
- ▸3/4 plan to attend college.
- ▸3/4 of the black and other nonwhite children had whites for their 2 closest friends.
- ▸More than 3/5 of the black and other nonwhite children dated whites exclusively.
- ▸Almost 27% dated interracially.
- ▸11% dated blacks exclusively.
- ▸Adoptees' average school grades were between Bs and Cs, slightly lower than those of natural-born children in the same family.
- ▸85% of parents said they would adopt transracially again and would recommend it to others.

SPECIFIC INDIVIDUAL STUDIES (listed chronologically):

▸Fanshel (1972) conducted a longitudinal study of 96 white families who adopted Native American children. He found the majority to be well adjusted and with close family relationships resembling those in other adoptive and biological families. Like other researchers however, he found that a child's adjustment was negatively correlated with age at placement: as age at time of adoption increased, ease of adjustment to the adoptive family decreased.

▸Grow & Shapiro (1974) found many transracial adopting families living in white neighborhoods, but reported that their children were well accepted and developing healthily by the time they reached pre-adolescence. They concluded that 77% of the 125 transracial adoptions in their sample "had been successful in terms of the child's adjustment and the parents' handling of racial matters" (in Pierce, 1984, p. 372). This success rate was deemed typical of conventional adoptions.

▸*Ebony* magazine in 1974 interviewed black adults who grew up in white adopted and foster homes. "They had achieved successful economic positions in life and all stated that they had gone through severe identity problems" (Fletchman-Smith, 1984, p. 126).

▸Zastrow (1977) found that early parental difficulty in relating to a child of another race disappeared quickly.

▸An exploratory study was conducted by Howard, Royse, and Skerl (1977) to determine black attitudes toward transracial adoption. By random sampling, 150 black households were interviewed in Dayton, Ohio; 44% of the families were at incomes of less than $8,000 and another 47% were between $8,000-$12,000. They found that 3/4 of respondents agreed that an adoptive white home might be beneficial for a black child if no black homes were available; 56.7% had an "open" attitude toward transracial adoptions while only 6.7% said it was "most unfavorable." The remainder were divided between "confused" and "somewhat unfavorable."

▸Silverman and Feigelman's famous research on adjustment of transracial adoptees was based on a questionnaire survey mailed out to adoptive families in 1975 and then a follow up survey to the same sample population in 1981. 372 families completed both. By 1981, 2/3 of the adoptees were between 7-12 years of age, and they represented Colombian, Korean, and African-American transracial adoptees as well

as in-racially adopted whites. Based on parental judgements, the Colombian and Korean children had adjustment experiences that ranked similar to the white adoptees; in fact, the Colombians tended to be better adjusted than the whites. The African American adoptees initially appeared to have adjusted more poorly than the others, but two factors were identified as being significant determinants: age at placement and the intensity of opposition from family and friends. However, after multiple regression analyses, age at placement was "the most decisive element in influencing black children's maladjustment scores" (Silverman & Feigelman, 1984, p. 596). In schoolwork, the black childrens' evaluations were comparable with the white adoptees, but in terms of motivation, they trailed behind the whites slightly. Silverman & Feigelman concluded that "the deleterious consequences of delayed placement are far more serious than those of transracial adoption" (1981, p. 535); that

> Race difference and racial antagonism are not completely inert factors in influencing the outcome of a transracial adoption. Yet, they are overshadowed by the significance of factors associated with the child's age and long delays in his or her eventual adoptive placement. These latter factors, by affecting the child's early adaptation in his or her adoptive home, ultimately produce longer-term adverse consequences. (1984, pp. 597-8)

▸One research study compared self-esteem and racial identity between 30 transracial and 30 in-racial adoptees who were all at least 10 years of age and had been living in their homes at least one year. 87% of the transracial adoptees were living in predominantly white areas versus 70% of the black adoptive families who were living in predominantly black areas. McRoy et al. (1982) administered self-esteem and self-concept measures, along with a 95 item interview, to each adopted child. The study indicated that there were no differences in overall self-esteem between the transracial and in-racial adoptees; however, racial identity seemed to be "more of a problem" for the black children being raised in white families (McRoy et al., 1982, p. 526). Positive racial identities were affected by the family's encouragement of the child's black identity and heritage as well as the child's access to black role models and peers. The researchers concluded that the study did not support the argument against transracial adoption, but did caution agencies and white families as to important factors contributing to positive racial identity. This was confirmed in a later study by McRoy, Zurcher, Lauderdale, & Anderson (1984) when they interviewed 30 sets of white parents and their black adoptees and found the sociopsychological context of the children's upbringing critical to the development of racial self-perceptions.

▸Simon & Alstein (1987), after finishing a 15-year longitudinal study of 200 transracial adoptive families, concluded that the children were well adjusted without special problems. The children were generally comfortable with their racial identity and their self-esteem scores were equal to those of the biological children in the same families. (in Auld, 1993)

▸A longitudinal study (in Johnson et al., 1987) to measure overall adjustment and racial identity of black children adopted by white parents began in 1970 by the Chicago Child Care society; 42 transracial placements and 45 traditional placements were analyzed. Interviews were conducted with parents and children separately and together. Data from when children were 8 years old revealed: about 75% of transracially adopted children were judged to be doing well, enjoying close relationships with parents and siblings, had friends, and were relatively free of symptoms that would indicate emotional distress. Findings were similar to the traditional adoptive families where just over 80% of in-racial placements were recorded as problem-free. By the time transracial adoptees were 8, 75% lived in white neighborhoods, but about 1/3 of parents reported maintaining some social contact with blacks and 46% of children named a black child among their best friends. More than 1/2 of the parents wanted their children to identify themselves with the "human race" or as "black and white". In the Clark Doll Test and Morland Picture Interview, in-racial and transracial adoptees performed the same in regards to racial preference: transracial adoptees identified themselves as black as often as same-race adoptees. Other measures of racial identity remained constant for transracial adoptees while children in all-black homes experienced later racial identity, but then surpassed children in transracial homes.

▸Andujo (1988) studied Hispanic children's experience with transethnic adoption. Independent interviews were conducted with parents and adoptees of 30 white families who had adopted Mexican American children, and with 30 Mexican American families who adopted children of same ethnicity. All children were in adoptive homes for 2 or more years and were between 12 and 17 years of age. Although "no significant differences were found in the overall level of self-esteem between the transethnic and same-ethnic adoptees... The ethnic perceptions of the two groups of adoptees varied" (Andujo, 1988, p. 533). Higher income, same-ethnic adoptees, along with most of the transethnic adoptees, described themselves as American and minimized their ethnic heritage. Researchers believe that this study supports the belief

that "ethnic similarity of adoptive parents and children is a factor that is relevant in adoption practice and policy" (Andujo, 1988, p. 534).

▸The North American Council on Adoptable Children (NACAC) surveyed 64 private and 23 public child placing agencies in 25 states in 1990. They wanted concrete data regarding placement practices, policies, and procedures affecting minority adoption. 83% of respondents said "they were aware of organizational and/or institutional barriers preventing or discouraging families of color seeking to adopt" (Gilles & Kroll, 1991, p. 7). Barriers cited were: institutional/systemic racism (practices reflect white middle-class perspectives); lack of people of color in managerial and staff positions; costly fees for service; treatment of adoption as a business (simply trying to serve white families' demands for adoptees); communities' of color historical tendency toward informal adoption; negative perceptions toward agencies; lack of recruitment and poor recruitment techniques among minority communities; and lack of awareness in communities of color as to the need for their services.

▸A recent survey of midwestern states found that 40% of transracially adopted children are disabled, 23% have psychological problems, and 33% have been sexually abused ("All in the family", 1994).

In summary, it appears that although the majority of transracial adoptees are brought up in white communities, there do not seem to be any major negative effects on their self-esteem or racial identity. It is interesting to note that among transracial adoptees, a sense of pride and racial identity remained constant between 4 and 8 years of age while same-race children displayed a larger growth spurt. Although at age 8 their levels were the same, studies of adolescence may provide telling evidence. Finally, delayed placement correlates significantly to adjustment problems in adoptees. In fact, it is one of the only consistent findings pertaining to adoption studies. While not denying that racism is a problem, Howard et al. (1977) ask: "How does the prevention of transracial adoption help to solve the problem of racism?" (p. 188). Likewise, Bartholet (1993) states: "The question is whether we *should* be so reluctant to cross boundaries of racial 'otherness' in adoption - whether today's powerful racial matching policies make sense from the viewpoint of either the minority children involved or the larger society" (p. 93). Would a limited form of transracial adoption be best, or should answers also come from one of two extremes?

COMPARATIVE CASE #2: TRANSRACIAL ADOPTION
ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

Andujo, E. (1988, November-December). Ethnic identity of transethnically adopted hispanic adolescents. Social Work, 33(6), 531-535.
One of the few studies available on ethnic identity among Hispanic adoptees of white families. Comparisons were drawn from a sample of Hispanic children being raised in white families and a sample of Hispanic children being raised by Mexican-American parents. Although no differences were found in overall self-esteem levels, they noted differences in ethnic identity and levels of acculturation. Transethnic adoptees saw themselves as more American and tended to minimize their cultural heritage. Offers recommendations for practitioners and families.

Auld, J.P. (1993, Fall). Racial matching vs. transracial adoption: Proposing a compromise in the best interests of minority children. Family Law Quarterly, 27(3), 447-460.
Interesting article on the history, state policies, research, and debate around transracial adoption. Advocates for legislation that will limit racial matching in adoption practices.

Bartholet, E. (1993). Family Bonds: Adoption and the politics of parenting (chap. 6). Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
Well-written, interesting chapter by law professor who combines her personal experiences with facts to argue in favor of transracial adoption. Presents statistics, a brief history, current agency and court policies, and a summary of major empirical studies. Explains how all of these impact the children waiting for, and in some cases, being prevented from, adoption.

Gilles, T. & Kroll, J. (1991, April). Barriers to same race placement (Research Brief #2). St. Paul, MN: North American Council on Adoptable Children.
Presents results from a survey of 64 private and 23 public adoption agencies across 25 states. Findings revealed numerous institutional and/or organizational barriers that prevent or discourage families of color from seeking to adopt. Offers advice for agencies wanting to commit to same race placements.

Hardin, M.A. & Feller, J.N. (1992, July-August). Transracial adoption courts test same-race placement policies. Youth Law News, pp. 16-20.
Technical legal article which reviews Supreme Court, state court, and lower court decisions relating to issues which arise in transracial adoption cases.

Johnson, P.R., Shireman, J.F., & Watson, K.W. (1987, January-February). Transracial adoption and the development of black identity at age eight. Child Welfare, 66(1), 45-55.
A longitudinal study which measured development of black identity among transracial and in-racial adoptees at 4 and 8 years of age. They found that although the racial identity of both sets measured the same at 8 years, the developmental patterns were different. Racial identity and pride among transracial adoptees remained constant in comparison to in-racial children whose racial preference started slower but markedly increased. Two interpretations of the data are offered, as well as a helpful review of previous research studies.

Leavy, W. (1987, September). Should whites adopt black children? Ebony, 42, pp. 76-82.
Offers the range of criticism from the African American community against transracial adoption. Sources include individuals, families, and leaders in the black community.

McRoy, R.G. (1989). An organizational dilemma: The case of transracial adoptions. The Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 25(2), 145-160.

Presents both sides of the transracial adoption argument by placing them in a historical as well as an international context. Explains the racial, economic, and power issues related to transracial adoption and emphasizes why the cultural needs of black children are best served by black families.

McRoy, R.G., Zurcher, L.A., Lauderdale, M.L., & Anderson, R.N. (1982, November). Self-esteem and racial identity in transracial and inracial adoptees. Social Work, 27(6), 522-526.
Two groups of adoptive families were studied - one was of white families with black children and the other was of black families with black children. Tools measured self-esteem and racial identity among all children. They determined no differences in overall self-esteem, but noted that racial identity seemed to be more of a problem for transracial adoptees. They advise on factors that seemed influential in developing positive racial identity.

Silverman, A.R. & Feigelman, W. (1984, December). The long-term effects of transracial adoption. Social Service Review, 58(4), 588-603.
A longitudinal study of 372 adoptive families in which questionnaires were mailed out on 2 separate dates, 6 years apart. Researchers compared the long-term adjustments of Columbian, Korean, and African-American transracial adoptees with those of in-racially adopted whites. Findings revealed that no differences existed among the children by the time they were school-aged adolescents, but they did show that the older adoptees are at time of placement, the greater difficulty they will have in adjusting.

Wardle, F. (1992, March-April). Transracial & interracial adoption: The myth of cultural genocide. Interrace, pp. 29-31.
Brief, intense argument in favor of transracial adoption in which the author attacks the position of same-race advocates. Provides excellent suggestions for parents adopting transracially and wanting to know how to best meet their child's needs.

CONCLUSION

"We've got to realize that we are stuck here together on this globe, in this society, in this city, and the question becomes how do we acknowledge the fact our destinies are bound together... We've got to talk about trust, mutual respect and, I think in the end, love and empathy with others."
- Cornel West (in Lewis, 1993, p. D4)

This document has set forth a great amount of information in diverse forms and from various disciplines. Ideologies have been exposed for investigation, programmatic literature representing mentoring as well as other social service fields has been presented, and research studies from fields not usually linked together in the examination of a single issue have been summarized. The question now arises: To what end should this knowledge be utilized? Ultimately, the answer depends on each reader for it is on the most personal level that people exercise the right to choose what information will guide their lives; every individual, either consciously or unconsciously, selects the theories that affect his/her actions. A writer's responsibility is simply to illuminate issues that may be deserving of attention and hope that the information selected for presentation will somehow be useful to people.

In this way, the cultural matching argument has been uncovered. Mentoring programs using cross-cultural or cultural matching techniques can no longer operate on the basis of ideology alone. The time has come for youth service programs to stop hiding behind a pretense of confusion and start addressing the historically hushed issues of race and ethnicity. Clearly, as surveys and research studies across numerous disciplines demonstrate, these issues puzzle societies, challenge academic investigators, and confront individuals daily. Progress can only be realized through brave attempts to make sense of that which is difficult or not easily understood.

The mentoring movement has prospered within the past decade, but those programs truly dedicated to serving at-risk youth would do well to stop and take inventory of what they know. First, mentoring programs should be secure in the knowledge that establishing 1:1 mentor-protege relationships is not a new process, but one that has occurred throughout history. It is an effort grounded in developmental research theories of attachment, resiliency, and adult generativity, as well as in social research pertaining to social support and human commonalities. Program administrators, funders, and volunteers can feel confident that

the methodology of mentoring provides a solid framework for its various program operations, structures, and goals. Mentoring makes sense. However, it is imperative for those working with adolescents to recognize the historicity of youth problems. After all, societies as old as the Graeco-Roman empires and as fresh as the American colonies all confronted problematic youth; it seems that inherent in all societies are conditions which negatively affect child development. Program providers who believe that mentoring is a perfect solution must recognize that such a panacea has never been discovered.

Armed with all of this knowledge, mentoring programs must forge ahead into unchartered territory. They must expand their understanding; fortunately, untapped potential exists within the field of research. As mentioned, few evaluations of quality have been conducted. Not only is more information needed about matters like which processes work best and what conditions cause youth to bond with mentors, but data on the successes of cultural and non-cultural matches are sorely lacking. There is little doubt that this type of endeavor should be among the next steps undertaken by the mentoring field. As evidenced in this work, the controversy over cultural matching is immense, but largely unmatched by research efforts. Evaluation research should be conducted on a variety of mentor-youth relationships, such as those matched according to race, gender, age, and class variables. Whenever possible, researchers should establish control groups to increase the validity of their research. Only in this way will the mentoring field be able to reach some solid conclusions as to which matching techniques may be more appropriate and under what types of conditions.

Inconsistent findings on the interdependence of variables like self-concept, self-esteem, and racial/ethnic group identity impede to some extent effective mentoring efforts. It is certainly acknowledged that research linking "the personal and social meanings of ethnicity with the identity development of adolescents is needed. Such research may help us to understand how reaffirmed ethnic traditions may optimize competence and well-being" (Price, Cioci, Penner, & Trautlein, 1990, pp. 51-52). Mentoring programs might serve as good arenas for human development research pertaining to these issues. If they cannot conduct such investigations themselves, at least program administrators should be in contact with others who can furnish them with information that will in turn permit them to strengthen their service delivery.

Another area of potentially significant research for mentoring programs relates to attachment theory. Individuals' personalities and internal working models are just two characteristics largely affected by attachments during infancy and early childhood. Recent research has begun to identify one's attachment needs in later life by interviewing individuals about conditions of their early years. Mentoring programs have the unique chance to apply fresh research by utilizing these measures which have already been developed (e.g., the Child Attachment Interview [CAI]) by theorists trying to identify youths' post-attachment needs. The more successful mentoring programs become at determining youth needs before they match them with a mentor, the greater the chances are for effective pairing with mentors who will have the benefit of knowing ahead of time what their youth's psychological needs are. Then of course, training for mentors can be designed and tailored to equip them with these greater capabilities.

Mentoring programs in the future also need to share more. Commonalities between fields in the social services abound, and rather than duplicate work, professionals in youth programming should be communicating with others in adoption agencies, social work organizations, etc. Certainly some of the information presented in the case chapters, such as the Minority Identity Development model, the Cultural Competence Continuum, and the chart linking Acculturation to Identification Patterns, can be of great use to mentoring programs. How can mentors derive value from seemingly unrelated fields? The answer is simple: dealing with individuals across cultures requires knowledge, skills, and understanding that transcends traditional disciplinary boundaries. In a pluralistic society where many groups live alongside each other and interact, even if formally, on a daily basis, any writings explaining ethnic competence and furthering cultural awareness become critically important. Especially for a nation like America whose history has created boundaries which are often subtle, but quite rigid, there is a sense of discomfort and lack of experience in crossing racial and ethnic barriers. Thus, sharing knowledge, skills, and research about minority identities, intergroup relations, and effective cross-cultural contact only furthers the education of everyone in that society.

An example from the field of transracial adoption may help to illustrate the applicability of experiences across fields. After learning how adoptive parents coped with their transracial adoptees, Bartholet (1993) concluded that

> Transracial adoptive families constitute an interesting model of how we might better learn to live with one another in this society. These families can work only if their members have an appreciation of racial difference. And the evidence indicates that these families do (p. 112).

The implications of this statement are twofold: 1) it advocates for using adoptive families as models for daily living (clearly crossing disciplines) and 2) it alludes to research evidence in order to support its claim. In short, mentoring programs can continue to improve and learn more about cultural matching through evaluation research, attachment and other theories of development, and the research/experiential bases of other social services.

What premises, if any, can guide the efforts of programs seeking to tackle issues around cultural matching? Are there conclusions to be drawn from the work presented here, or is it still too early to decide if one matching method is better than another? Unfortunately, there will never be easy answers to these questions. Literature from other fields offers complex models of cross-cultural competence, intergroup anxiety, and individuals' preferences for assimilationist/pluralist ideologies that simply do not exist among mentoring programs. If such information was common knowledge, mentoring professionals would probably not be arguing over which technique was better. Instead, they would be figuring out when, where, and why each was appropriate in certain situations.

Thus, although conclusions in the form of judgements cannot be arrived at, there are a number of inferences which may be of assistance in guiding future thought. First, attachment research and Freedman's (1988) study of intergenerational mentoring programs highlighted the significance of two types of relationship bonds: primary and secondary attachments. Research indicates that youth benefit from both of these ties, but in different ways. Second, the typology of mentoring programs highlighted that most services focus on one of two types of objectives: public or private. Again, programmatic literature stresses that both models of mentoring were useful, but that youth learned different competencies depending on the type of program in which they enrolled. Third, the dual nature of pluralist ideology describes how social relations must be negotiated without compromising the cultural content of the groups involved. Pluralism advocates for both integration and boundary maintenance, two more examples of conditions which are not mutually exclusive, but coexistent. Finally, developmental and sociological research both

highlight variances among youth and stress differences between cultural groups as well as within them. People are unique, they have distinct needs, and every social relationship relies heavily on the interpersonal dynamics between at least two people.

The implications of these deductions and the way in which they bear on the cultural matching argument are great. They support the notion that individuals of different cultural groups can work together, but they do not naively recommend that cross-cultural relations will always succeed. As human natures vary, so too do the demands for cultural and non-cultural matching. While one minority youth may suffer from low racial group identity and be resistant to working with anyone from the dominant group, another youth may have high self esteem, but suffer from peer pressure and delinquency problems. Perhaps cultural matching works best in programs with "private" objectives where close primary attachments seem more necessary for completing the personal tasks at hand. And perhaps cross-cultural matching techniques can be applied more easily in "public" focused programs where secondary attachments seem to provide enough support for the accomplishment of objectives that are more skill and social oriented.

By thinking about matching techniques as complementary rather than competitive, one transforms the very nature of the debate. What typically has been viewed as a source of frustration and dissent in the field of mentoring may actually be an extraordinary advantage. This or any conclusion for that matter can only be reached by individuals as they integrate the value of research with their own personal ideologies. As a researcher, my job is complete. As an educator of practitioners in the field of mentoring, my task is also finished, for as C. Wright Mills (1959, p. 187) describes, "the educator must try to develop men and women who can and will by themselves continue what he has begun: The end product of any liberating education...is the free and rational individual."

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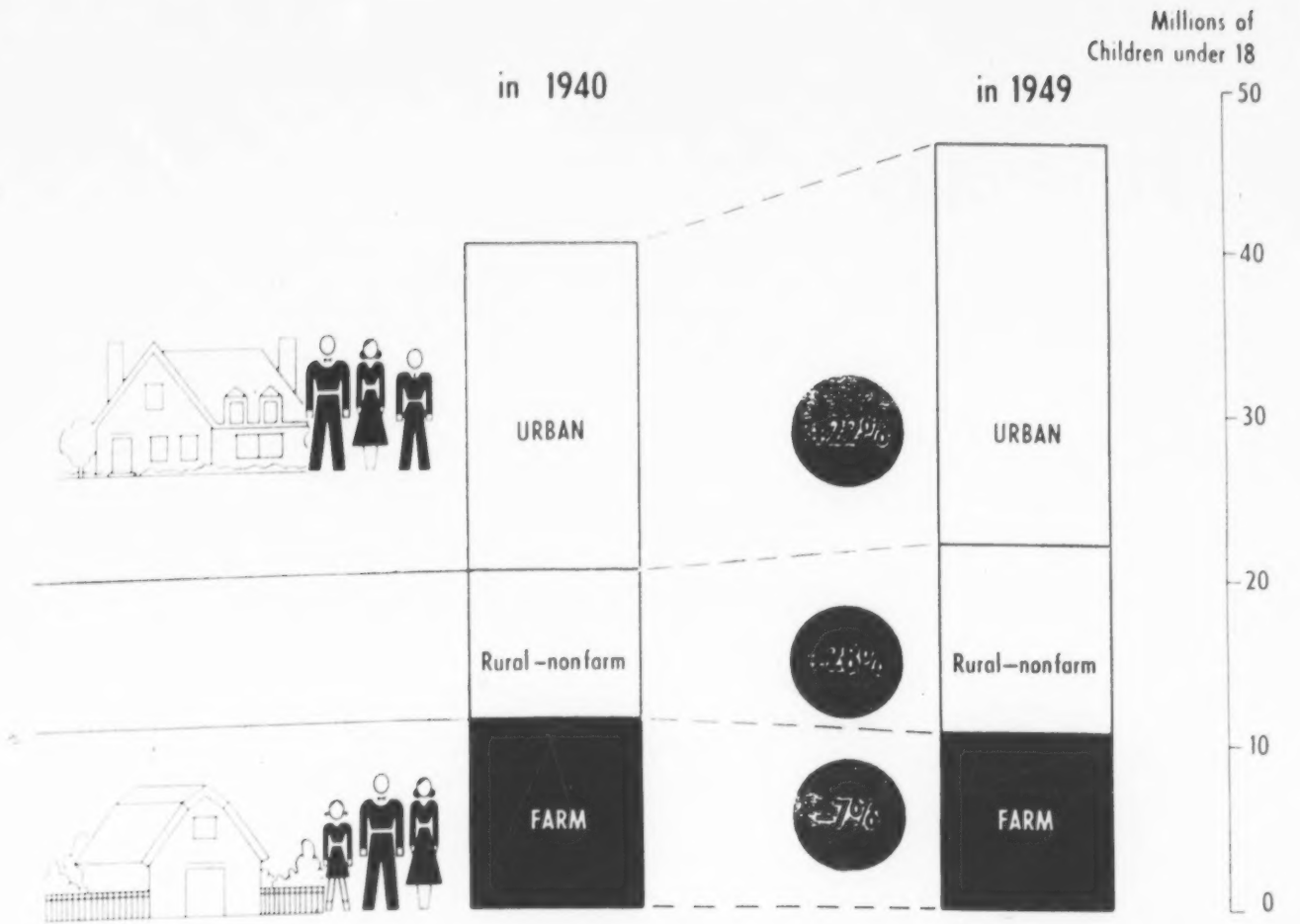
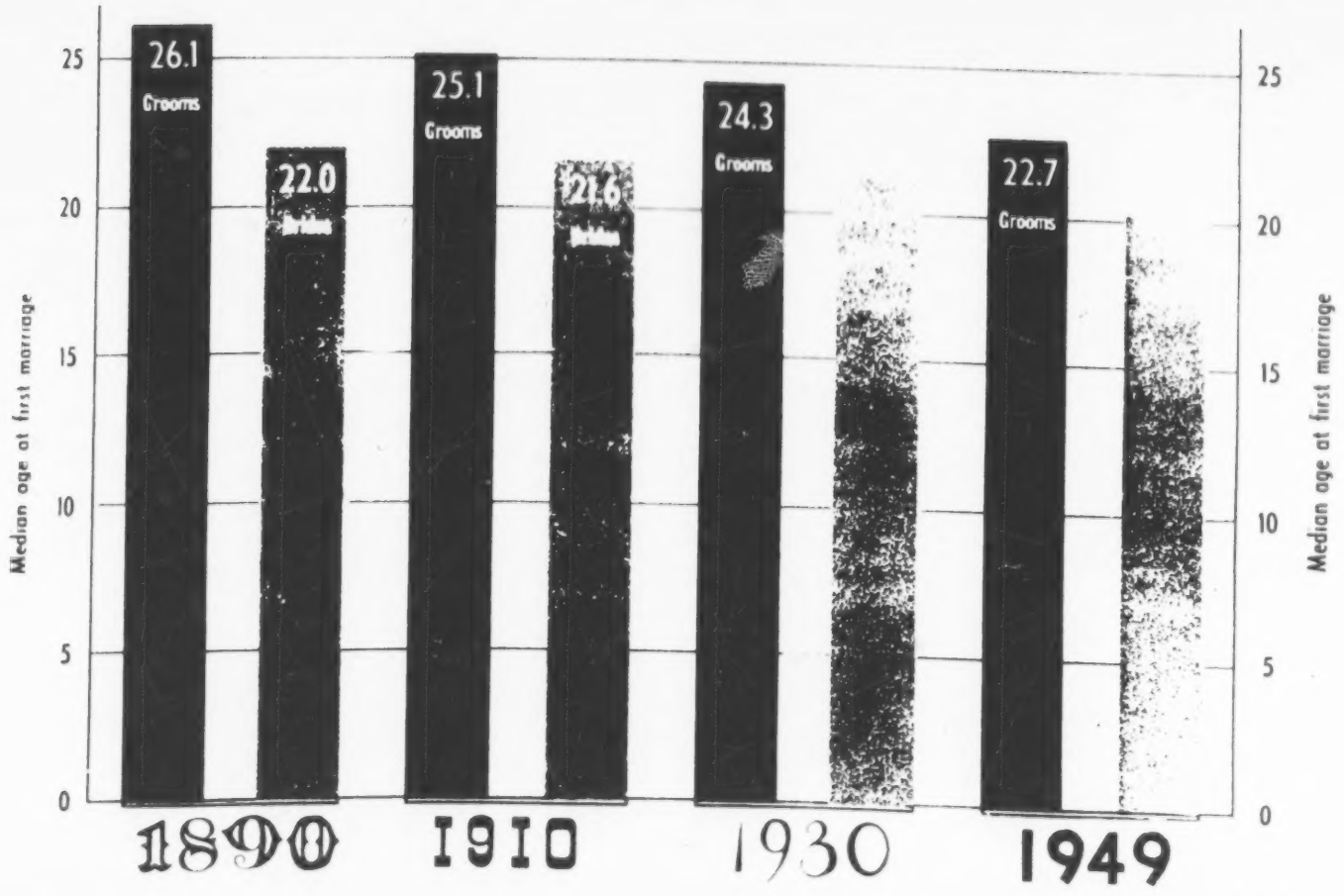
Most children are now in urban areas

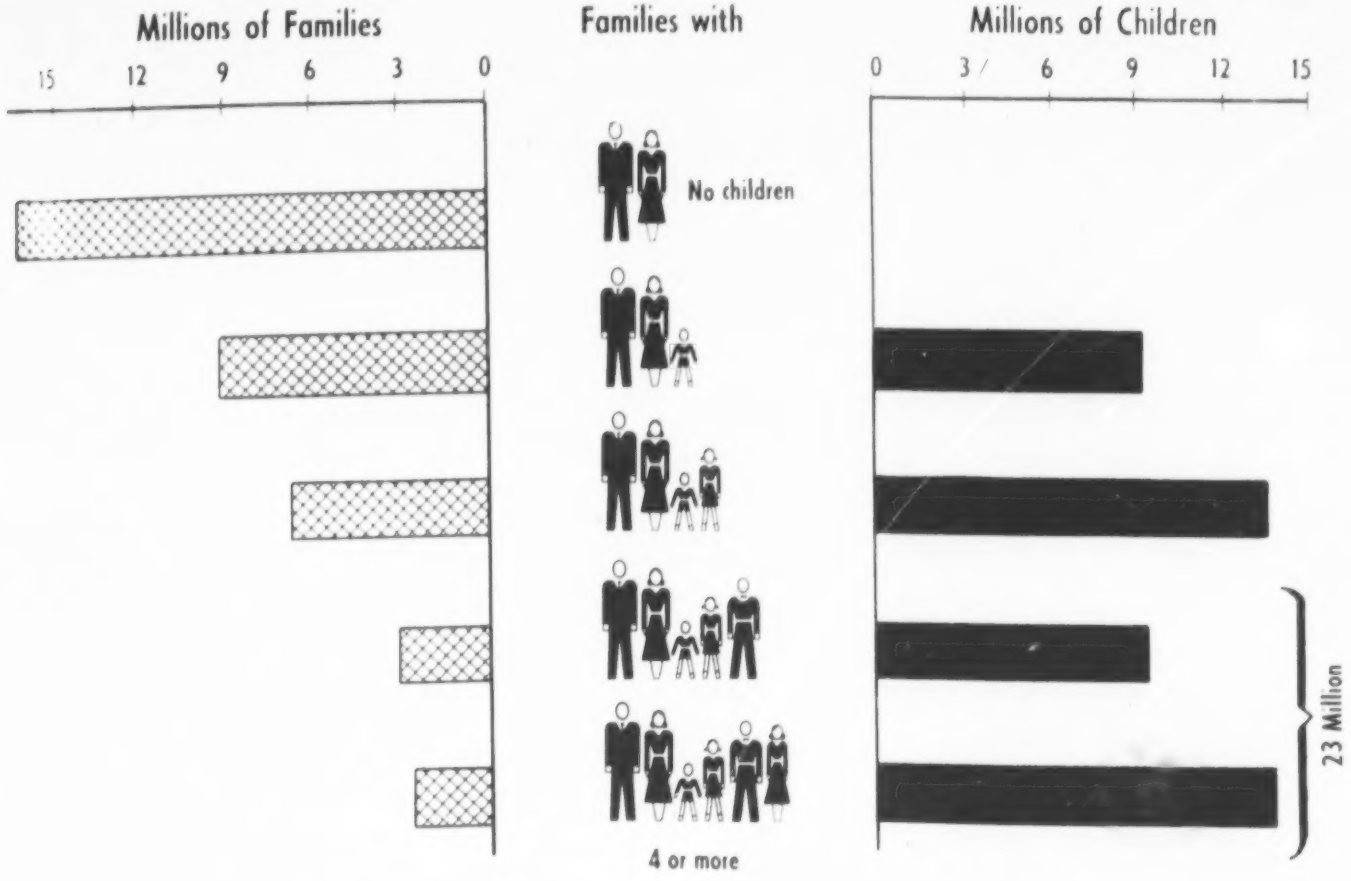


Brides and grooms are younger

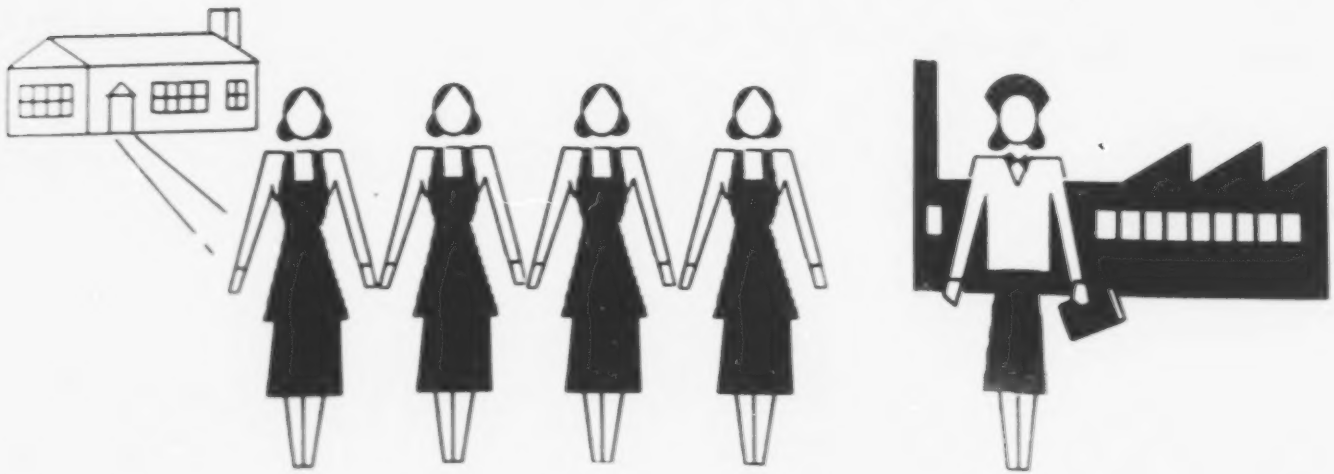


Half the children are in families of three or more children

Three families with 3 or more children care for 23 million children under 18



One out of five mothers with children
under 18 years of age works outside the home



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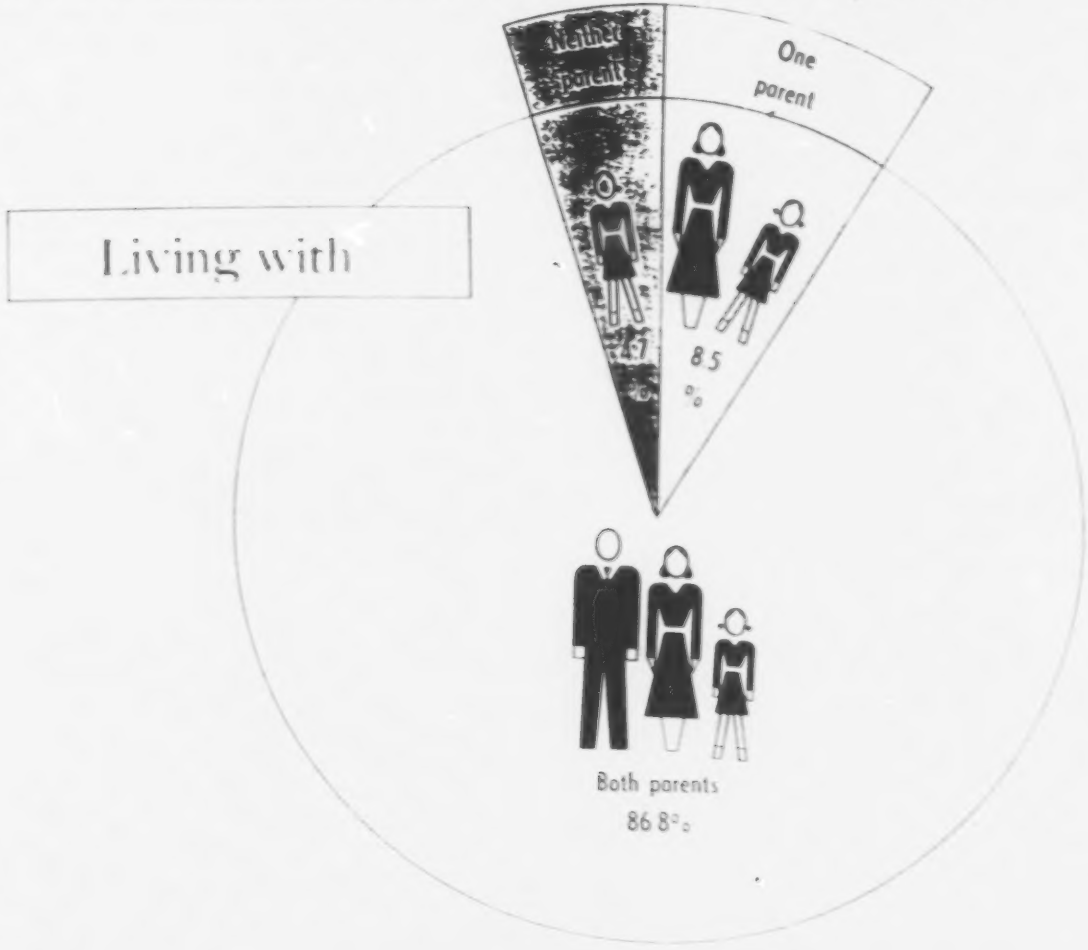
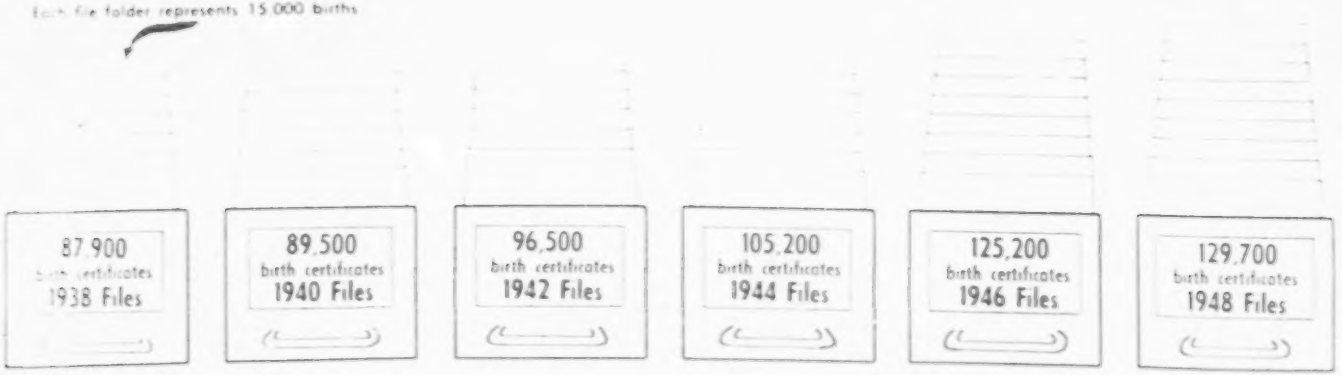
One out of 8 children is not living with both parents



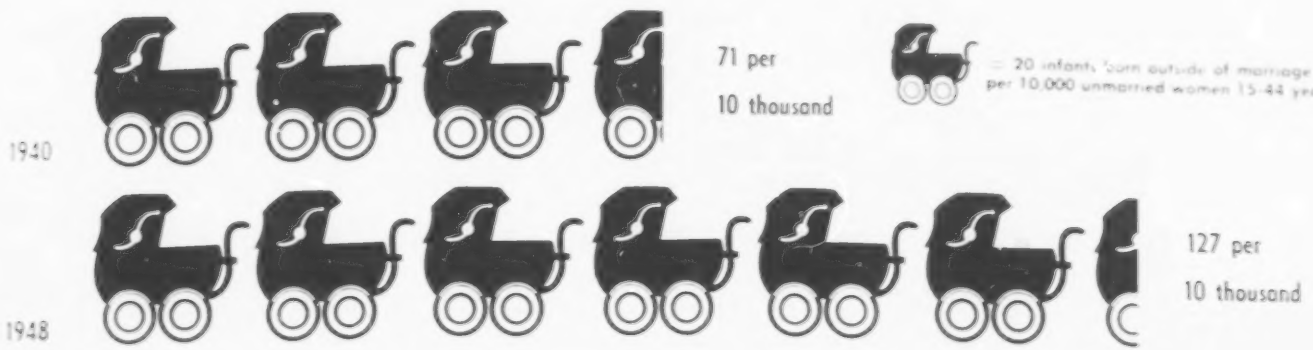
Increasing numbers of infants are born outside of marriage

The number in 1948 was nearly 50% greater than in 1938

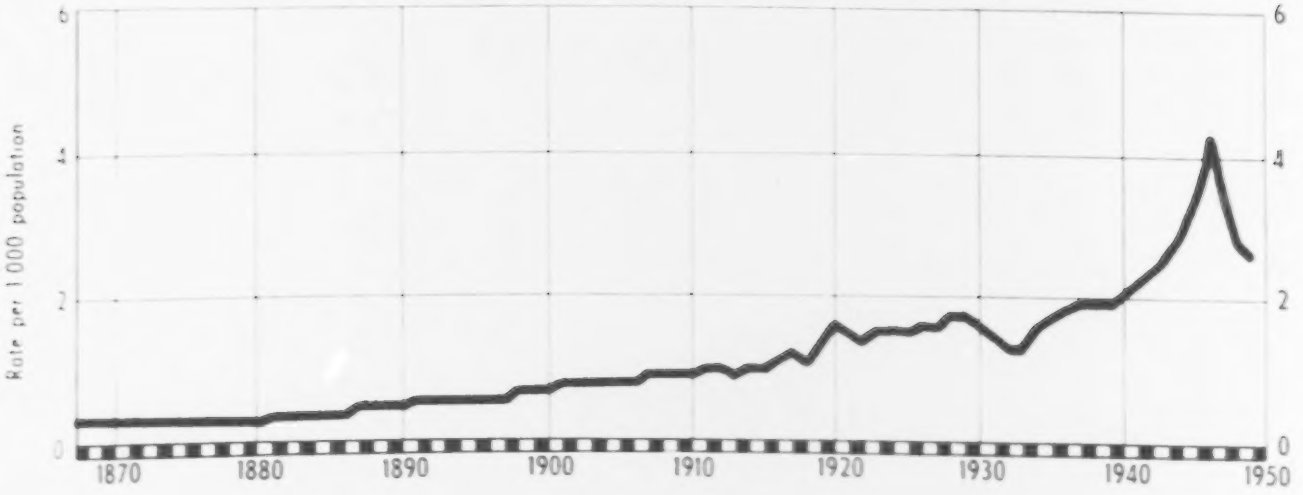
Each file folder represents 15,000 births



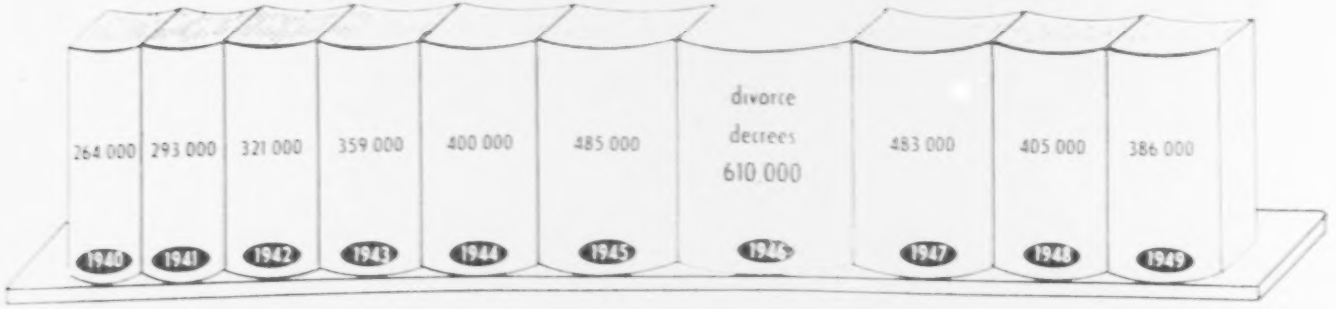
The rate in 1948 was nearly 80% greater than in 1940



The divorce rate has been climbing for years

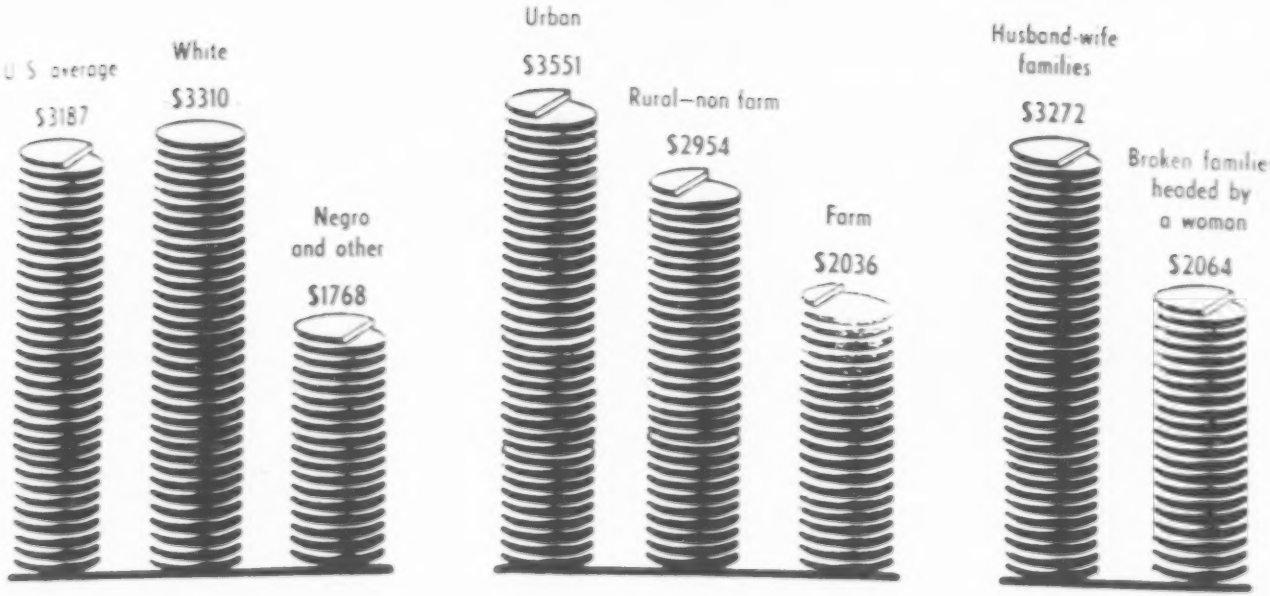


However, the number of divorces has decreased since the all-time high in 1946

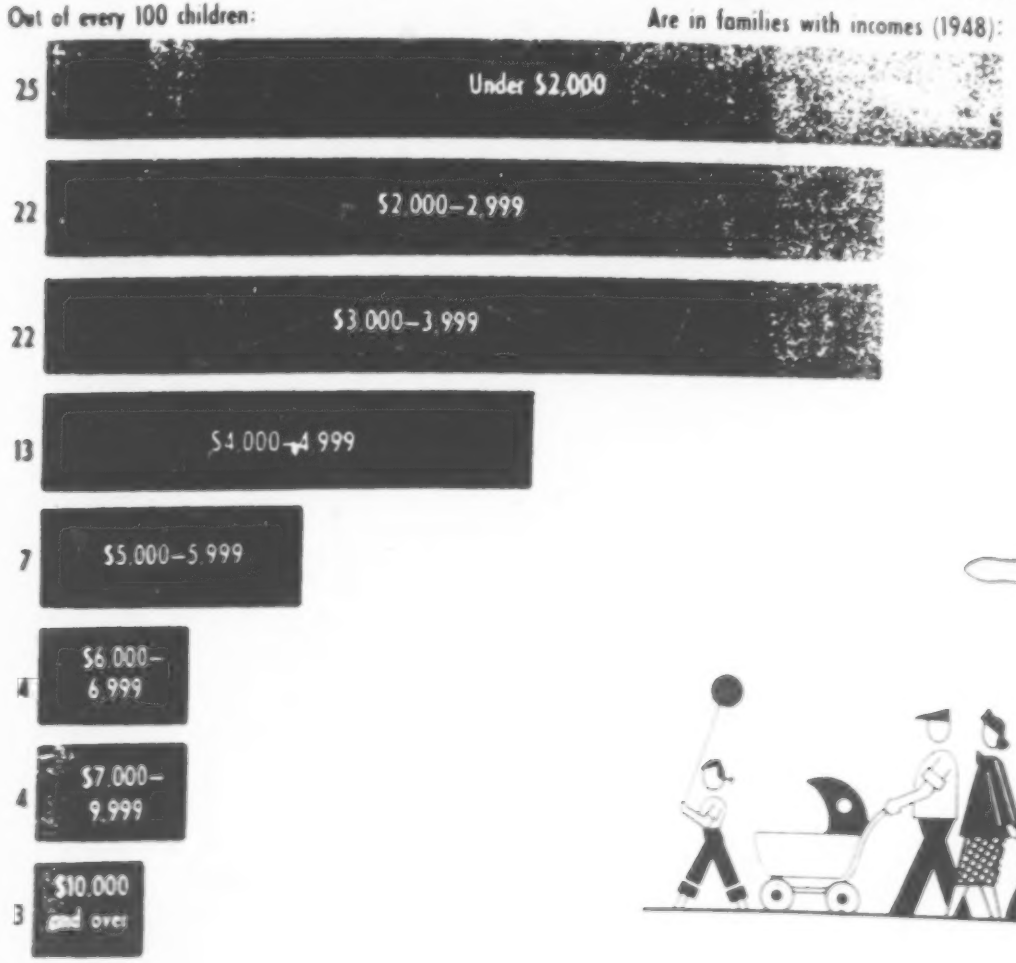


Some families have very low incomes

The average income of U. S. families was $61 per week in 1948

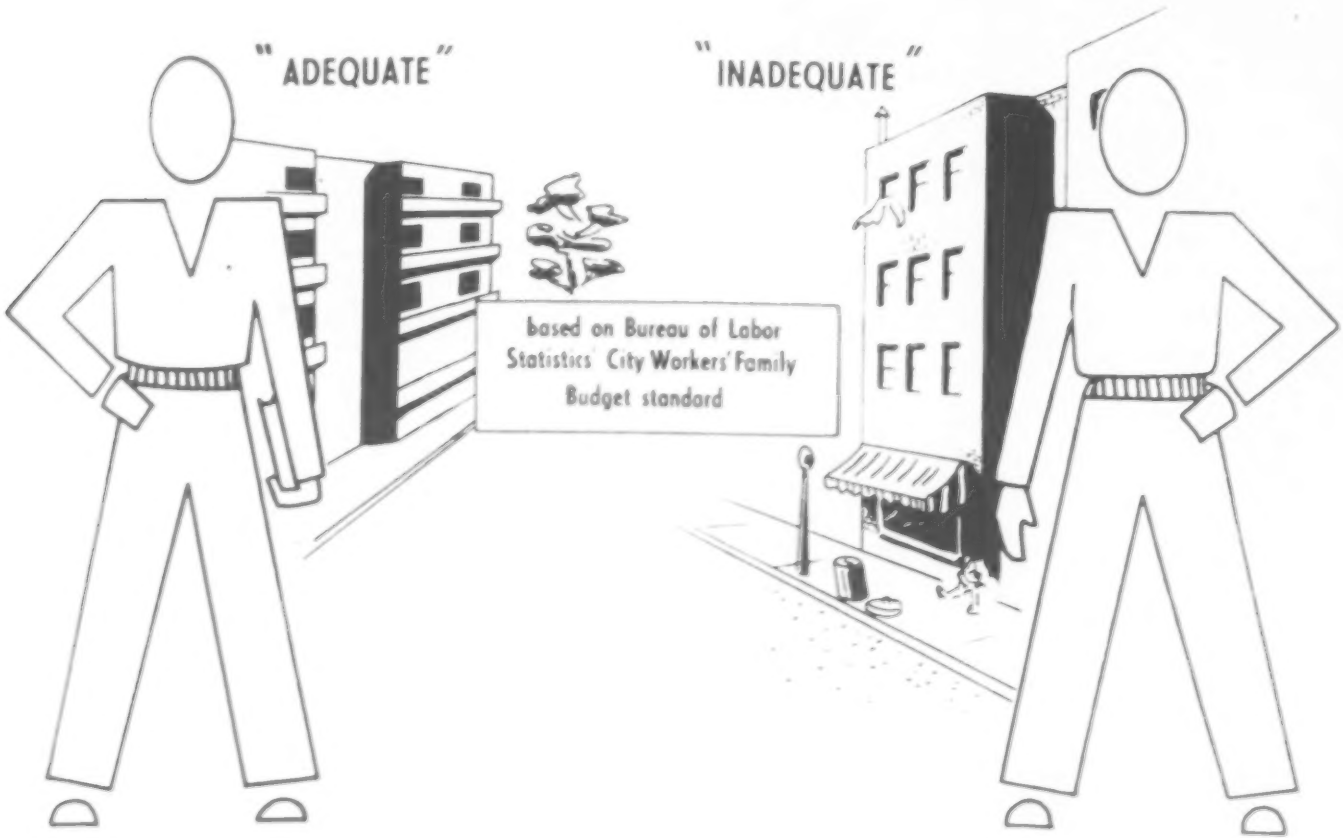


Most children are in low and moderate income families



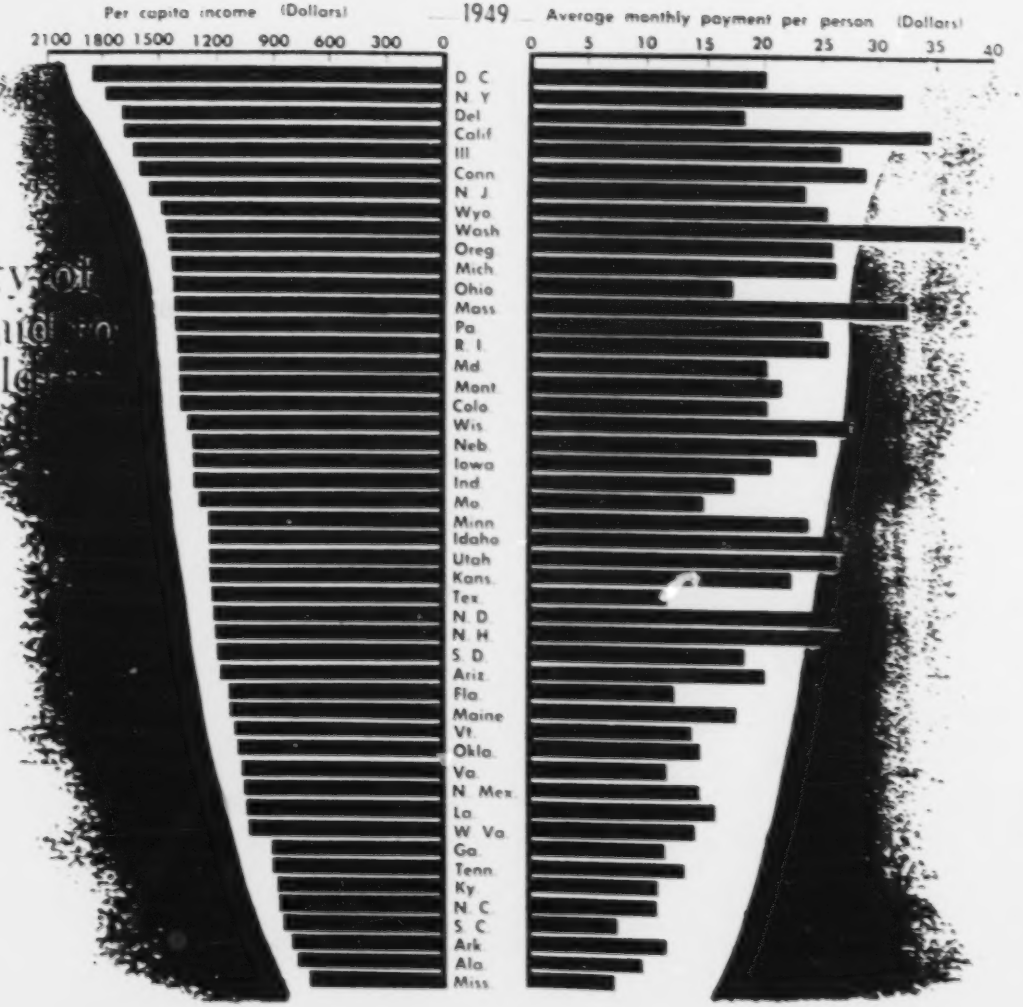
One out of two children in large cities belongs to a family with "inadequate" income

This was true in 1948 when national income was at an all-time high



Financial ability of States affects aid to dependent chil

Poor states generally ... most liberal payments



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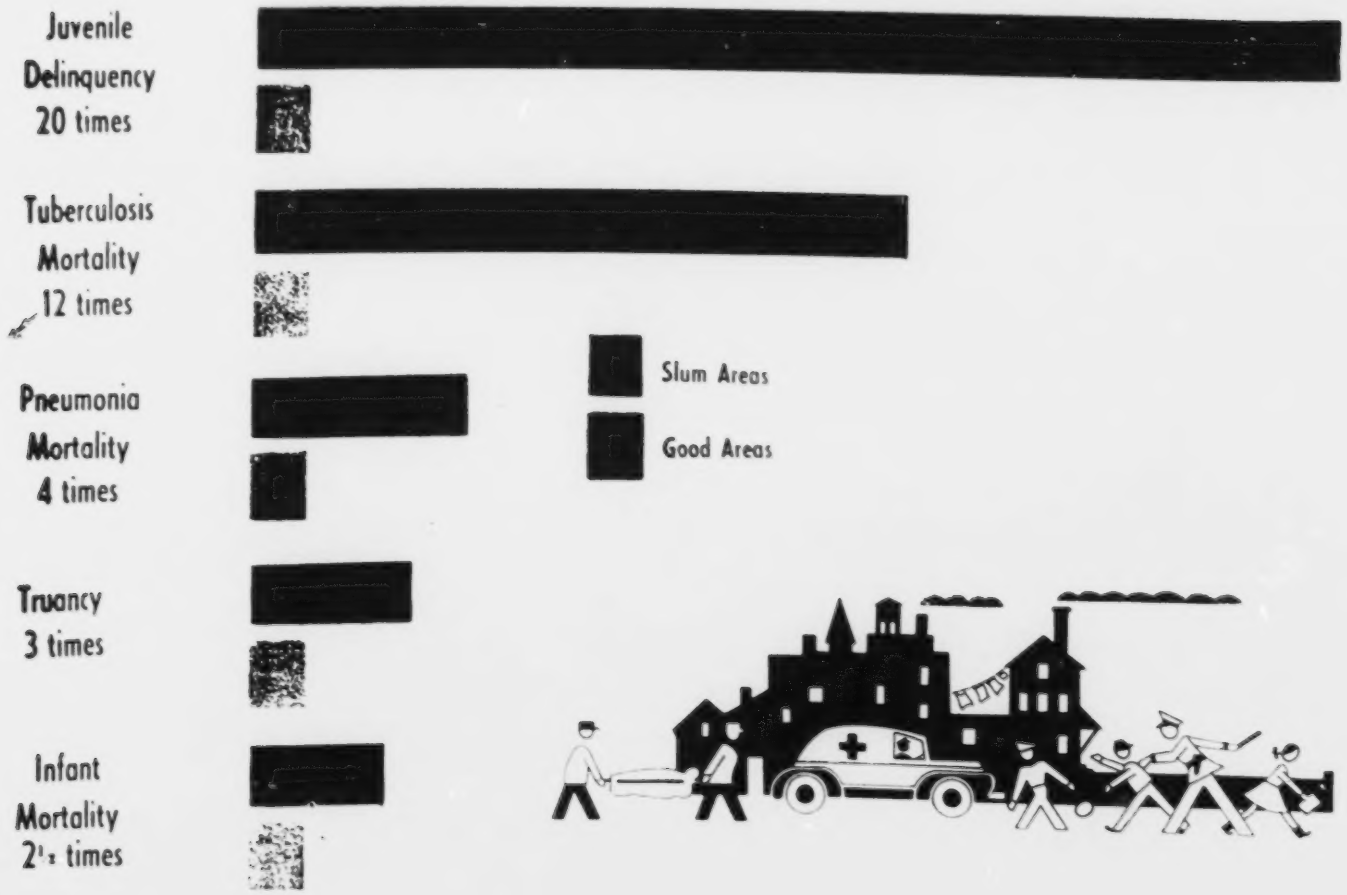
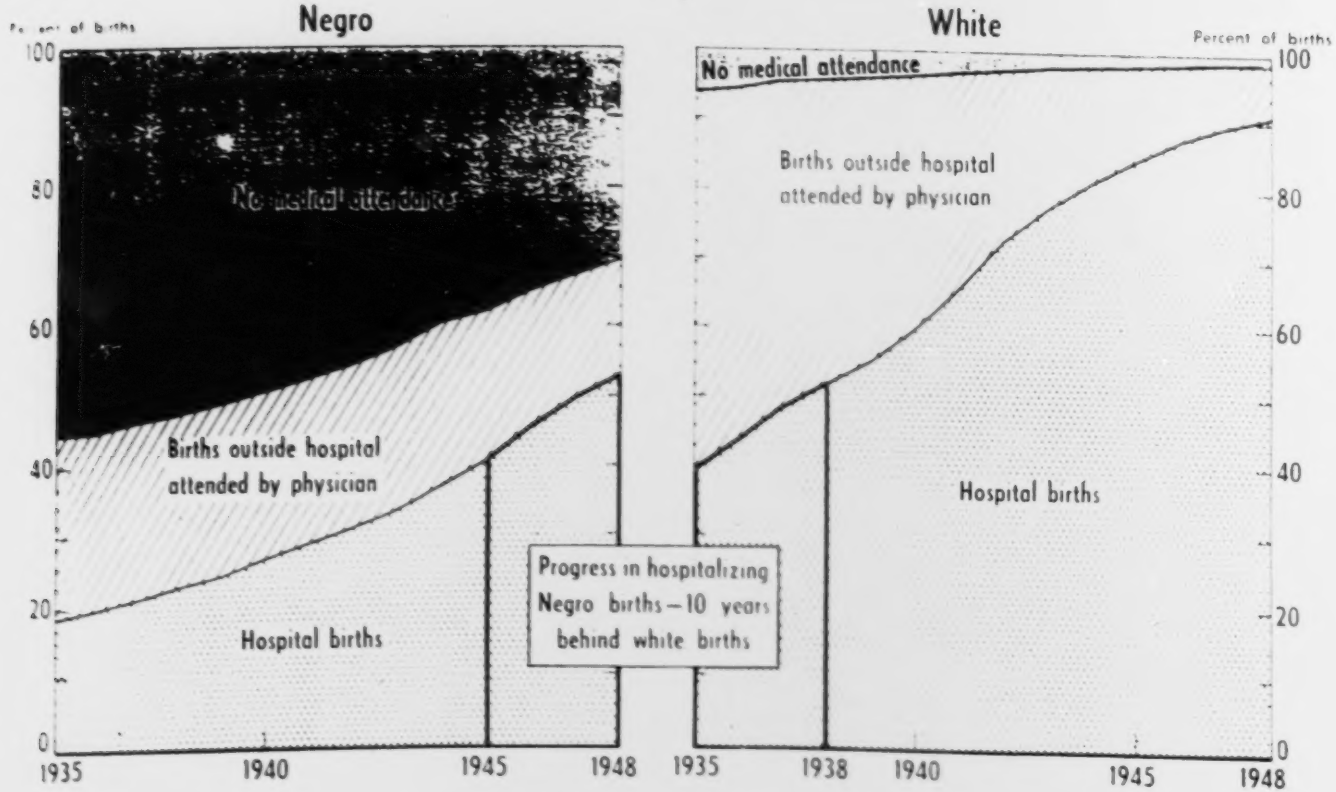
Poor housing means poor chances for children

A comparison of 4 slum areas and 4 good areas in Chicago shows these conditions:



Most babies today are born in hospitals

Yet even now 1 out of 3 Negro babies is born without a doctor's care



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Low State per capita income means low expenditures for education of children and youth

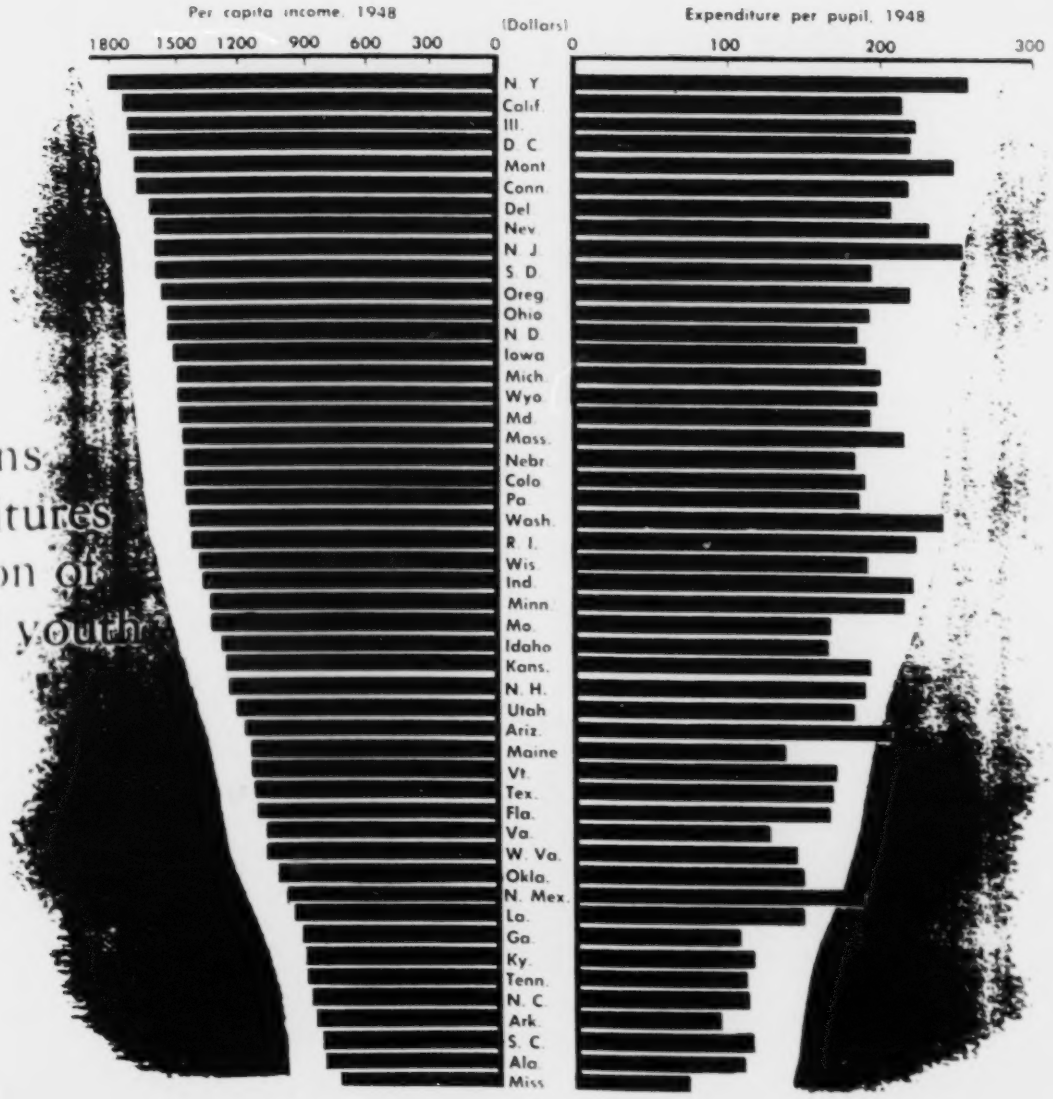

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TABLE 2.2 Youth in Poverty by Age and Race Ethnicity, 1986 (in thousands)

Sex and Race	Percentage in Poverty by Age			Number in Poverty by Age		
	10–14	15–17	18–19	10–14	15–17	18–19
TOTAL	21	17	17	3,586	1,889	1,219
Males	21	17	15	1,794	960	530
White	17	13	12	1,171	602	354
Black	44	38	30	579	307	148
Spanish	42	38	29	377	182	94
Females	22	17	19	1,792	929	689
White	17	13	17	1,112	578	504
Black	46	36	34	591	296	186
Spanish	39	40	32	318	208	101

Note: Spanish origin may be white or black.

Source: Bureau of the Census, "Poverty in the U.S.," *Current Population Reports*, Series P-60, No. 158, 1987.

TABLE 2.3 Percentage of Children under Age 18 by Residence, Race, and Poverty Status, 1986

	White		Black	
	Not Poor	Poor	Not Poor	Poor
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%	100%
Live in central city	23	35	54	57
Live in suburbs	54	34	30	18
Live in nonurban area	23	31	16	25

Source: Bureau of the Census, "Poverty in the U.S.," *Current Population Reports*, Series P-60, No. 158, 1987.

Appendix B: Concentration of Poor Population by Race/Ethnicity & Age

Dryfoos (1990)

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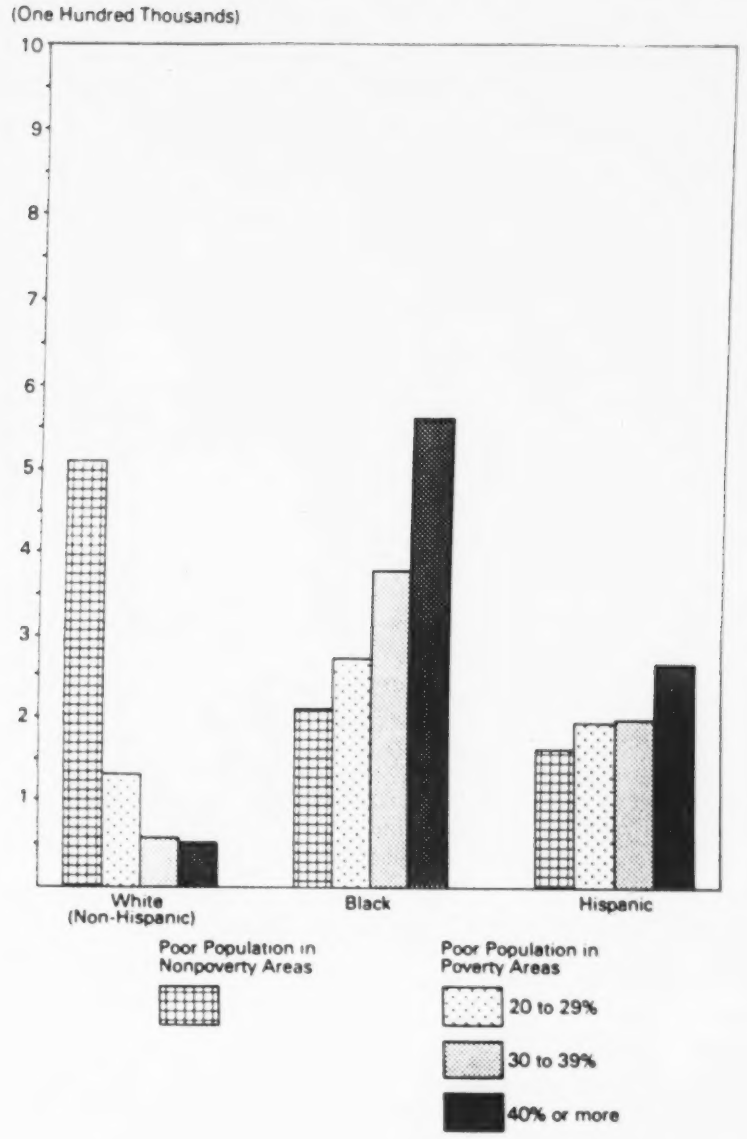

Figure 2.7. Concentration of poor population in nonpoverty and poverty areas in five largest cities (based on 1970 census), 1980. *Source: 1980 Census of the Population: Low Income Areas in Large Cities.* PC-2-8D. Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1985.

Appendix B: Concentration of Poor Population by Race/Ethnicity & Age

Wilson (1987)

Key Facts About Latino Youths

• While the overall proportion of youths in the U.S. population is shrinking, the Latino population is growing, from 5.4 million in 1987 to a projected 9.6 million in 2030. In that year, Latinos will make up 18 percent of the 10- to 24-year-old population, up from 10 percent today.

• Two-thirds of the Latino population live in three states: California, Texas, and New York.

• Because the parents of Latino adolescents are younger, less educated, employed at lower paying jobs, and poorer than the parents of white adolescents, young Latinos are at economic and educational risk.

• Almost four in 10 Latino youths live in poverty. The poverty rate among Latino six- to 17-year-old children is 35.2 percent, compared with 41.9 percent among blacks and 13.5 percent among whites.

• Three in 10 Latino 12- to 17-year-olds live in single-parent families, most of which are headed by women. In the past decade the proportion of Latino children living in single-parent families increased from one in four to one in three.

• Eighteen- to 24-year-old Latinas are almost twice as likely as whites (although less likely than blacks) to have had children. Almost half of births to Latina teens in 1987 were to teens 17 or younger. Fifty-seven percent of teenage Latinas who gave birth that year were single. Only 27 percent of young Latina mothers who had children during their teen years had completed high school by their mid-twenties (compared with more than half of whites and two-thirds of blacks).

• Only four of 10 Latino teens live in families headed by a parent with a high school diploma.

• Among Latino youths who left school in 1988 there were six dropouts for every 10 high school graduates. Latinos made up 18 percent of all dropouts but 7 percent of 1987 graduates.

• Half of Latino dropouts 16- to 24-years-old have not completed ninth grade.

• Latino youths (16- to 24-years-old) overall are less likely than white youths to be in the labor force, but the difference is accounted for by the lower labor force participation of Latinas. Latino and white young men are represented similarly in the labor force (76 percent and 75 percent, respectively). But 55 percent of young Latinas, compared with 67 percent of young white women, were either working or looking for work in 1988.

• Latinos in this country are a diverse group, comprising Mexican-Americans, Puerto Ricans, Cuban-Americans, and Central and South Americans, among other ancestral origins. The differences among these subgroups — in poverty, education, employment, family structure, and even age distribution — often are greater than overall differences between Latinos and non-Latinos.

Appendix C: Facts about Latino & African American Youth

Duany & Pittman (1990)

THE DEATH & DESTRUCTION OF OUR CHILDREN

Every 4 hours a Black child is **murdered**.

Every 43 minutes a Black baby **dies**.

Every 6 hours a Black child **dies from a gunshot wound**.

Every 20 hours a Black child or young adult under 25 dies from causes related to HIV (AIDS).

Every 46 seconds of the school day, a Black child **drops out of school**.

Every 65 seconds a Black teenager becomes **sexually active**.

Every 69 seconds a Black baby is born to an **unmarried mother**.

Every 95 seconds a Black baby is born into **poverty**.

Every 104 seconds a Black teenage girl becomes **pregnant**.

Every 3 minutes a Black baby is born to a mother who **did not graduate from high school**.

Every 6 minutes a Black baby is born at **low birth-weight**, weighing less than 5 pounds 8 ounces.

Every 7 minutes a Black baby is born to a mother who had **late or no prenatal care**.

Every 11 minutes a baby is born to a Black teen mother who **already had a previous child**.

Every 11 minutes a Black child is arrested for a **violent crime**.

Every 18 minutes a Black child is arrested for a **drug offense**.

Every 76 minutes a Black child is arrested for an **alcohol-related crime**.

THE DEATH & DESTRUCTION OF OUR PEOPLE

If current patterns continue, by the year 2,010 75% of all African American youths will be in **jail or prison**.

African American males in America are incarcerated at a rate five times that of South Africa.

Out-Of-Wedlock births in 1950 for all African Americans was 16.8% and 1.7% for White Americans. In 1988 it was 63.7% for African Americans and 14.9% for White Americans.

Appendix C: Facts about Latino & African American Youth

Simba Pamphlet

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In 1960, 20% of all African American children were living in **fatherless families**, compared to 60% in 1993.

African Americans are 12% of the U.S. population, and in 1990 committed 53.9% of all **murders**, and in 1989 63.9% of all **robberies**.

Homicide is the leading cause of death among African American males 15-24 years old. From 1978-1987, annual homicide rates for young African American males were 5-8 times higher than young white males.

In 1977 more African American males were killed by other African American males than during the entire nine year period of the Vietnam War.

The 1989 **risk of death from homicide by a gun** for African American males 15-19 years of age was 84.3 per 100,000 people compared with 7.5 for white males, or eleven times the risk.

For violent crimes that involve African Americans and whites in 1987, whites assault whites at about the chance-encounter rate, African Americans assault whites at about 72% of the chance-encounter rate, whites assault African Americans at about 56% of the chance-encounter rate, **African Americans assault African Americans at 800% of the chance-encounter rate.**

In 1990, of those African Americans who were **alive at 65 years or older**, 61.6% were female and 38.4% were male.

African American teenagers were 38.2% of all **HIV (AIDS)** infections in 1992, and 71% of all infections were boys.

The percent of African American children living in **poverty** in 1991 was 44.1 compared to 11.4 for whites.

The **degrees in higher education** awarded to all African Americans in 1980 was 9,494 and in 1988 only 4,188. 13% of African Americans are college educated.

In the 1980's while the total **enrollment in higher education** grew by 12%, the enrollment of African American males decreased by 7.2%

In 1988, African American men had a 68% higher death rate from **heart disease**, 90% higher **stroke** rate, 71% higher **cancer rate**, 126% higher **liver ailment** rate, and an 86% higher **diabetes** rate than the total population. African American men younger than 45 years have a 45% higher rate of **lung cancer** and ten times the likelihood of dying from **hypertension** than whites.

TABLE 3.5 Delinquency and Status Offense Case Rates by Race, Age, and Offense, 1988*

	Person		*Property*		*Drugs*		*Public Order*		*Status***	
Age	*White*	*Non-white*	*White*	*Non-white*	*White*	*Non-white*	*White*	*Non-white*	*White*	*Non-white*
10	0.7	2.1	3.7	7.5	0.0	0.0	0.3	0.6	0.1	0.2
11	1.3	3.9	5.5	11.7	0.1	0.1	0.6	1.3	0.2	0.4
12	2.2	7.8	10.6	20.7	0.3	0.5	1.6	3.3	0.7	1.4
13	4.1	13.8	19.0	33.9	0.7	1.9	3.8	7.3	1.7	3.1
14	6.2	21.5	29.2	49.4	1.9	5.0	7.4	13.1	3.4	5.2
15	7.7	26.9	35.9	58.5	3.5	10.0	11.2	18.8	4.1	5.6
16	9.3	29.4	42.0	65.7	5.7	15.2	14.8	24.1	5.7	4.6
17	10.1	31.0	42.6	65.8	8.1	21.8	17.8	26.4	6.8	2.8
Total	5.2	16.8	23.6	39.2	2.4	6.2	7.1	11.5	3.0	3.0

SOURCE: Juvenile Court Statistics, 1988

NOTES: * All numbers reflect court referral rates per 1,000 youth population age 10-17.

** Status offense rates reflect petitioned cases only.

TABLE 3.6 Juvenile Court Processing Rates by Decision Point, by Race per 1,000 Youth Population

	White	*Nonwhite*	*Total*
Secure Detention			
Delinquency process	11.7	24.8	10.6
Status offenses	0.4	0.9	0.6
Disposition*			
Petitioned cases	20.2	37.6	23.9
Probation	9.6	15.5	10.4
Placement	5.0	9.8	4.9

SOURCE: U.S. Department of Justice Children in Custody Survey (1989)

Appendix D: Juvenile Delinquency Data by Ethnicity

Krisberg & Austin (1993)

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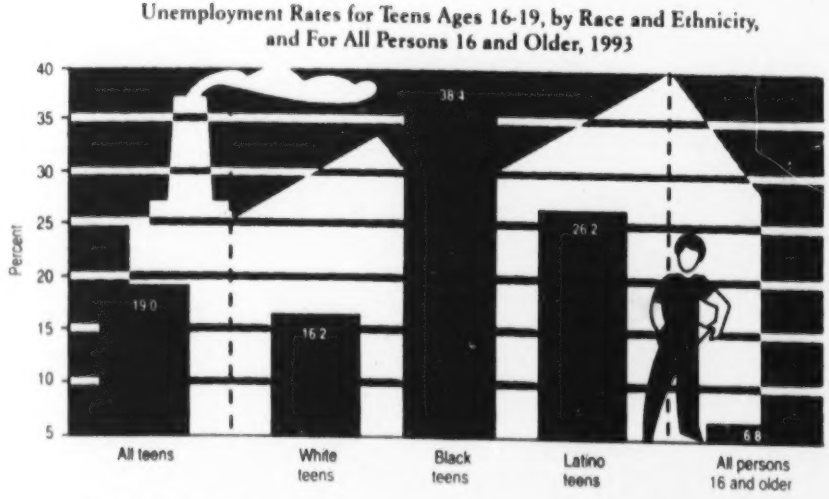
TABLE 4.10 California Juveniles With Court Dispositions, Percentage Detained by Ethnicity Controlling for Other Factors

Characteristics	*Ethnicity* *Anglo-American*	*Latino*	*African-American*	*Native American*	*Asian/Others*	*Total*
Number of youths	60,539	47,564	26,982	906	8,591	144,582
Overall % detained	30.6	35.9	48.5	43.0	38.8	36.3
Referral offense						
felonies						
Felony violent	47.1	60.7	64.7	59.6	58.0	11,629
Felony property	38.8	38.4	49.5	47.4	49.4	35,880
Felony drug	43.1	59.9	71.9	37.5	61.8	7,704
Felony sex	37.2	44.4	50.3	—[a]	39.1	1,716
Felony weapons	32.7	36.5	56.7	55.6	46.8	2,081
Misdemeanor assault &						
battery	33.6	31.0	35.8	37.5	35.5	11,517
Misdemeanor property	15.9	18.9	22.8	27.1	15.1	18,626
Misdemeanor drug	0.8	28.1	29.4	36.7	23.2	3,660
Misdemeanor sex	30.8	17.1	31.4	75.0	20.0	654
Misdemeanor alcohol	14.0	24.2	24.4	39.2	12.1	6,838
Misdemeanor weapons	20.4	28.4	47.2	—[a]	39.6	1,733
Status offense	35.1	35.1	40.5	32.9	42.6	10,044
Probation violation	65.3	57.6	62.9	69.7	52.8	7,997
Probation-CYA status						
On probation or CYA	59.5	58.4	67.2	62.4	61.4	29,950
Not probation or CYA	24.9	29.9	40.9	36.2	34.1	115,032
Sex						
Male	30.3	36.7	50.3	42.5	40.4	115,551
Female	31.6	31.6	39.9	44.5	29.2	28,031
Age						
Ages 10-15	28.4	31.8	44.3	39.6	36.9	73,581
Ages 16-17	31.5	38.3	52.8	46.9	40.8	74,718
Number of offenses						
One only	24.6	30.4	40.5	38.8	32.9	81,960
More than one	39.5	43.0	56.3	47.5	47.5	62,622

NOTE: a. Indicates where the number of cases available for statistical analysis is less than 30. Consequently, there are insufficient cases to compute reliable percentages.

Figure 7 4 **Teens Out of Work**

The unemployment rate for minority teens in 1993 was about four to five times higher than the rate among the general population.



Source: Bureau of Labor Statistics

FACTS:
U.S. PROFESSIONAL POPULATION

LAWYERS	
Black Males:	9,322
Black Females:	4,272
ACCOUNTANTS AND AUDITORS	
Black Males:	23,476
Black Females:	30,892
DENTISTS	
Black Males:	2,715
Black Females:	480
COMPUTER SYSTEMS ANALYSTS/SCIENTISTS	
Black Males:	6,129
Black Females:	3,470
PHYSICIANS	
Black Males:	10,264
Black Females:	3,245
LAWYERS	
White Males:	417,815
White Females:	63,165
ACCOUNTANTS AND AUDITORS	
White Males:	577,147
White Females:	333,755
DENTISTS	
White Males:	110,425
White Females:	7,171
COMPUTER SYSTEM ANALYSTS/SCIENTISTS	
White Males:	144,212
White Females:	39,707
PHYSICIANS	
White Males:	330,297
White Females:	42,316

Statistical Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1980

Black females have advanced more rapidly into the ranks of blacks in selected professions than white females into the ranks of whites in selected professionals. Black males are not entering these professions as rapidly as black females.

Appendix F: **Facts on the U.S. Professional Population by Race & Gender**

Hatchett (1986)

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TABLE 3.2. Consequences of Delinquent Behavior

Behavior	Consequences	
	Short Term	Long Term
Conduct disorders, such as aggression and truancy	Antisocial behavior School problems Psychiatric problems Heavy drinking Smoking More delinquent acts Suspension from school	Delinquency arrests School failure Poor mental health Alcoholism/drug abuse Poor health Low occupational status Poor marital adjustment Impaired offspring Violence
Delinquency, such as index offenses (burglary, theft)	Early substance use Violence School dropout Involvement with judicial system Detention	Drug abuse Adult criminality Prison Marital instability Out-of-wedlock parenting Unemployment Low-status jobs, low income Reliance on welfare

Sources: A. Kazdin, *Conduct Disorders in Childhood and Adolescence* (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage, 1986), pp. 63–66; E. Werner, "Vulnerability and Resiliency in Children at Risk for Delinquency: A Longitudinal Study from Birth to Young Adulthood," in J. Burchard and S. Burchard, eds., *Prevention of Delinquent Behavior* (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage, 1986), pp. 16–43; L. Robins, "Changes in Conduct Disorder over Time," in D. Farran and J. McKinney, eds., *Risk in Intellectual and Psychosocial Development* (New York: Academic Press, 1986), pp. 227–57.

Appendix G: Antecedents & Consequences of Delinquency

Dryfoos (1990)

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TABLE 3.7 Antecedents of Delinquency

Antecedent	Association with Delinquency
Demographic	
Age	**Early initiation
Sex	**Males
Race ethnicity	Conflicting and incomplete data
Personal	
Expectations for education	**Low expectations, little commitment
	*Low participation in school activities
School grades	**Low achievement in early grades, poor verbal ability
Conduct, general behavior, misconduct	**Truancy, "acting out," early stealing, lying
Religiosity	**Low attendance at church
Peer influence	**Heavy influence, low resistance
Conformity/rebelliousness	**Nonconformity, independence
Involvement in other high-risk behaviors	**Early, heavy substance use
	**Precocious sex
Psychological factors	**Hyperactivity, anxiety, aggressive behavior
Congenital defects	*Handicapping conditions
Family	
Household composition	*Inconsistent data
Income, poverty status	**Low socioeconomic status
Parent role	**Lack of bonding, repressive, abusive, low communication
Parental practice of high-risk behavior	*Family history of criminality, violence, mental illness, alcoholism
Community	
Neighborhood quality	*Urban, high crime, high mobility
School quality	*Repressive environment
	*Tracking ability
	*Ineffective school management

* Several sources agree that factor is a major predictor.

** Most sources agree that factor is a major predictor.

Sources: S. Henggeler, *Delinquency in Adolescence* (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage, 1989), pp. 23–62; J. Hawkins and D. Lishner, "Schooling and Delinquency," in E. Johnson, ed., *Handbook of Crime and Delinquency Prevention* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1987), pp. 180–90; R. Loeber and M. Stouthamer-Loeber, "Family Factors as Correlates and Predictors of Juvenile Conduct Problems and Delinquency," in M. Tonry and N. Morris, eds., *Crime and Justice: An Annual Review of Research*, vol. 7 (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986), pp. 29–150; P. Greenwood and F. Zimring, *One More Chance* (Santa Monica, Calif.: Rand Corporation, 1985), pp. 9–13; B. Sommer, "Truancy in Early Adolescents," *Journal of Early Adolescence* 5(1985): 145–60; D. Kandel, O. Simcha-Fagan, and M. Davies, "Risk Factors for Delinquency and Illicit Drug Use from Adolescence to Young Adulthood," *Journal of Drug Issues* 16(1986): 67–90.

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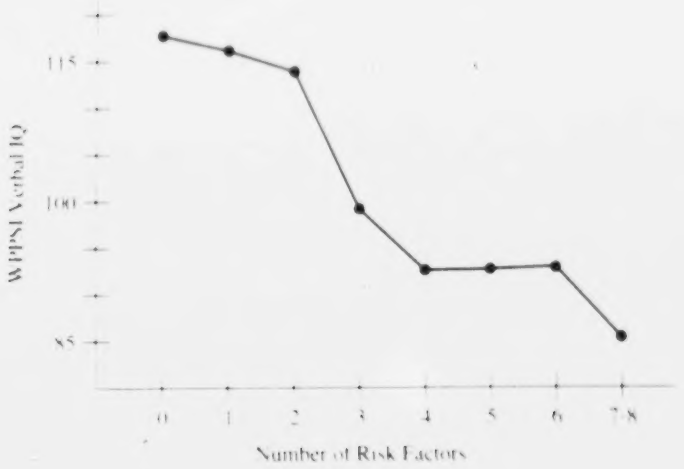
The Meaning of Danger

Figure 1. Effects of Multiple Risks on Preschool Intelligence.



Note. WPPSI Verbal IQ is an individually administered test of the child's intelligence.

Source. Sameroff, Seifer, Baldwin, Zax, and Greenspan, 1987, p. 347.

Appendix H: Example of the Effects of Multiple Risk Factors

Garbarino, Dubrow, Kostelny, & Pardo (1992)

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Excerpts from Jonathan Kozol's Savage Inequalities: Children in America's Schools (1991)

"In East St. Louis, meanwhile, teachers are running out of chalk and paper, and their paychecks are arriving two weeks late." (p.24)

"East St. Louis, says the chairman of the State Board [of Education], 'is simply the worst possible place I can imagine to have a child brought up.'" (p.25)

Science labs at a high school in St. Louis are 30 to 50 years outdated. There is no water coming out at the lab tables and texts are scarce.

Pay differentials for teachers can vary up to $20,000 for work in safe suburbs.

One history teacher has 110 students in 4 classes and only 26 books, some with the first 100 pages missing.

"East St. Louis...an ugly metaphor of filth and overspill and chemical effusions...a place for other people to avoid when they are heading for St. Louis." (p.39)

A 5th grade Chicago teacher states: "'It's all a game. Keep them in class for 7 years and give them a diploma if they make it to 8th grade. They can't read, but give them the diploma.'" (p.46)

"On an average morning in Chicago, 5,700 children in 190 classrooms come to school to find they have no teacher." (p.52)

"'We have been in this class a whole semester,' says a 15-year-old at Du Sable High, one of Chicago's poorest secondary schools, 'and they still can't find us a teacher.'" (p.52)

A Chicago elementary school received reading textbooks out of sequence and the principal was told by school officials that it was OK to work backwards.

"For many, many students at Chicago's nonselective high schools, it is hard to know if a decision to drop out of school, no matter how much we discourage it, is not, in fact, a logical decision." (p.59)

"Slow readers in an 8th grade history class are taught from 15-year old textbooks in which Richard Nixon is still president...There are 2 working bathrooms for some 700 children." (p.63)

Average expenditures per pupil in the city of New York in 1987 were approximately $5,500. In the highest spending suburbs, per pupil expenditures were over $11,000, and some at $15,000.

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"'These are the kids most in need,'" says Edward Flanery, the principal of one of the low-income schools, "'and they get the worst teachers.'" (p.85)

"In order to find Public School 261 in District 10 [North Bronx], a visitor is told to look for a mortician's office...the school is next door, in a former roller-skating rink. No sign identifies the building." (p.85)

Recess isn't possible at some urban schools in New York because there are no playgrounds.

4 kindergartens and a 6th grade class of Spanish-speaking kids share a windowless room.

An elementary school has no science labs and the teachers carry the equipment with them.

A 7 year old boy rides 1 and 1/2 hours one-way from a homeless shelter in Manhattan to a segregated school because that is the one that would accept him.

"'Statistics tell us', says The Times, that the South Bronx is the poorest congressional district in the United States. But statistics cannot tell us 'what it means to a child to leave his often hellish home and go to school - his hope for a transcendent future - that is literally falling apart.'" (p.100)

One counselor states: "'There is tremendous gulf between their skills and capabilities. This gulf...says so much about the squandering of human worth.'" (p.105)

A student laments: "'You *want* the teacher to know your name, but she asks Are you really in this class? even though I've been there all semester.'" (p.105)

Students may sometimes be in the wrong class for an entire term and not even know it.

A fire alarm in a Camden junior high has been dysfunctional for 20 years.

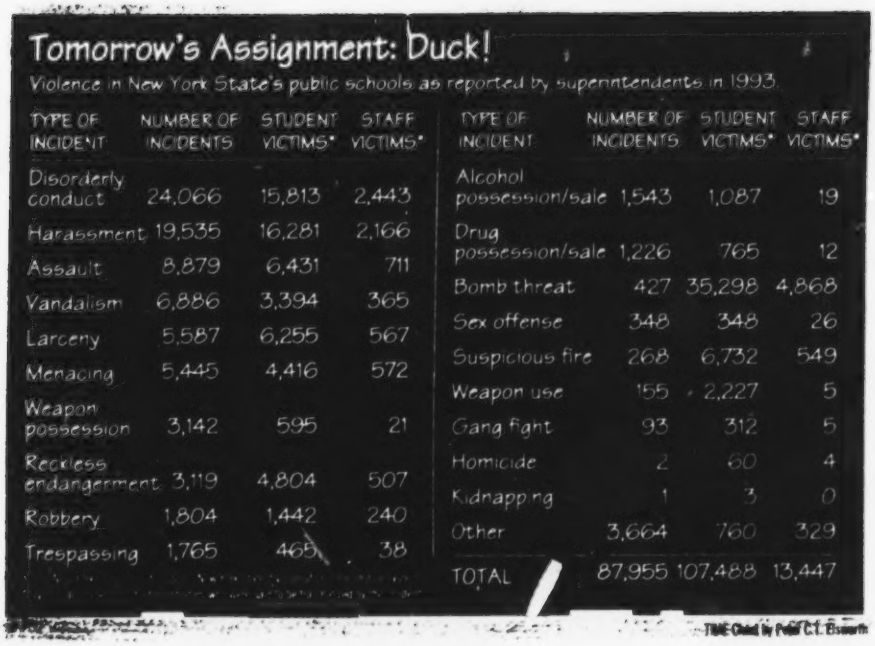
"A class of third grade children at the school has four different teachers in a five-month span in 1989. 'We get dizzy,' says one child in the class. The only social worker in the school has 30 minutes in a week to help a troubled child. Her caseload holds the names of nearly 80 children. The only truant officer available, who splits her time between this and three other schools in District 10 - the district has ten truant officers, in all, for 36,000 children - is responsible for finding and retieving no less than 400 children at a given time. When a school board hires just *one* woman to retrieve 400 missing children from the streets of the North Bronx, we may reasonably conclude that it does not particularly desire to find them. If 100 of these children startled us by showing up at school, moreoever, there would be no room for them in P.S. 94. The building couldn't hold them." (p.115)

The principal of Camden High says: "'These little children cry out to be cared for. Half the population of this city is 20 years old or less. Seven in ten grow up in poverty.'" (p.142)

A teacher, whose home in Camden, NJ was robbed, moved 5 minutes away to Cherry Hill. He stated: "'I'm not angry. What did I expect? Rats packed tight in a cage destroy each other.'" (p.142)

"'I'm housed in a coat room,' says a reading teacher at another school in Irvington [NJ]. 'I teach,' says a music teacher, 'in a storage room.' Two other classes, their teachers say, are in converted coal bins. A guidance counselor says she holds her parent meetings in a closet. 'My problem,' says a compensatory-reading teacher, 'is that I work in a pantry....It's very difficult to teach in these conditions.'" (p.159)

"The crowding of the school reflects the crowding of the streets. 'It becomes striking,' says a parent in another urban district, 'how closely these schools reflect their communities, as if the duty of the school were to prepare a child for the life he's born to...It hardly seems fair.'" (p.159)



Tomorrow's Assignment: Duck!

Violence in New York State's public schools as reported by superintendents in 1993.

TYPE OF INCIDENT	NUMBER OF INCIDENTS	STUDENT VICTIMS*	STAFF VICTIMS*
Disorderly conduct	24,066	15,813	2,443
Harassment	19,535	16,281	2,166
Assault	8,879	6,431	711
Vandalism	6,886	3,394	365
Larceny	5,587	6,255	567
Menacing	5,445	4,416	572
Weapon possession	3,142	595	21
Reckless endangerment	3,119	4,804	507
Robbery	1,804	1,442	240
Trespassing	1,765	465	38
Alcohol possession/sale	1,543	1,087	19
Drug possession/sale	1,226	765	12
Bomb threat	427	35,298	4,868
Sex offense	348	348	26
Suspicious fire	268	6,732	549
Weapon use	155	2,227	5
Gang fight	93	312	5
Homicide	2	60	4
Kidnapping	1	3	0
Other	3,664	760	329
TOTAL	87,955	107,488	13,447

Appendix J: **Violence in New York State's Public Schools, 1993**

Elsworth (1994)

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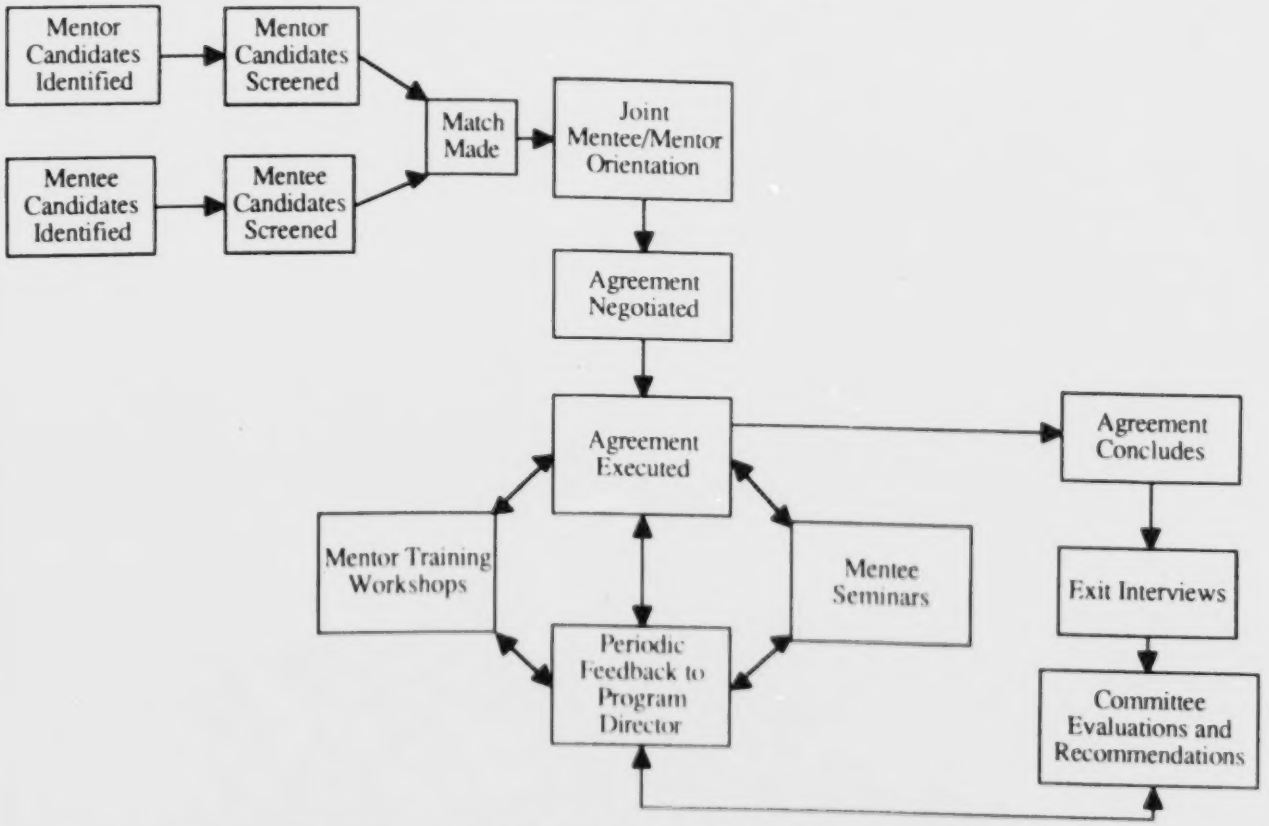
Figure 5. Trinity College Mentoring Program.



Source: Graphic designed from Trinity College program description. Used with permission.

Effective Mentoring Techniques:
A Report Card for Faculty Mentors

Grade yourself with an A, B, C, D, or F as a mentor to minority graduate students. An "A" means excellent for that area. An "F" means that you have a lot of work to do.

Do I:

—— Introduce protégé to faculty in the department.

—— Introduce protégé to key administrators within the college/school.

—— Teach protégé survival skills helpful to doctoral students.

—— Provide feedback on protégé's self-assessment and targeted career goals.

—— Protect protégé from the "pitfalls" of departmental politics.

—— Suggest opportunities for relevant research and training experiences.

—— Share information about the dynamics of formal and informal systems within the institution.

—— Share perceptions about departmental culture and its evolution.

—— Suggest articles, authors or titles designed to broaden experience base.

—— Share relevant aspects of personal career and resulting lessons learned.

—— Provide coaching on behavior and skills that can facilitate career progress.

—— Make myself available for counseling on professional and personal problems.

—— Share information about how to get things done within the departments.

—— Help establish protégé's scholarly reputation.

—— Provide guidance, coaching and direction during the dissertation research process.

—— Help to prepare students for the milestones that must be met.

—— Help launch protégé's professional career.

Appendix K: Mentoring in Non-Youth Related Fields

Adams (1992)

Mentor Roles in Career Development

Writing role descriptions for mentors is a useful start to the process of planning a mentoring program with built-in evaluation. Douglas Aircraft's program began with seven role descriptions:

Communicator
- encourages two-way exchange of information
- listens to career concerns and responds appropriately
- establishes an environment for open interaction
- schedules uninterrupted time to meet with mentoree
- acts as a sounding board for ideas and concerns.

Counselor
- works with mentoree to identify and understand career-related skills, interests, and values
- helps mentoree evaluate appropriateness of career options
- helps mentoree plan strategies to achieve mutually agreed-upon goals.

Coach
- helps to clarify performance goals and developmental needs
- teaches managerial and technical skills (OJT)
- reinforces effective on-the-job performance
- recommends specific behaviors that need improvement
- clarifies and communicates organizational objectives and goals
- serves as a role model to demonstrate successful professional behaviors—leads by example.

Advisor
- communicates the informal and formal realities of progression within the organization
- recommends opportunities for training
- recommends appropriate strategies for career direction
- reviews developmental plan on a regular basis
- helps mentoree identify career obstacles and take appropriate action to overcome them.

Broker
- expands the mentoree's network of professional contacts
- helps bring together mentorees who might mutually benefit from helping each other
- helps link mentoree with appropriate educational and employment opportunities
- helps the mentoree identify resources required for career progression.

Referral Agent
- identifies resources to help mentoree with specific problems
- follows up to ensure effectiveness of resources.

Advocate
- intervenes on the mentoree's behalf and represents his or her concerns on specific issues to higher-level managers
- arranges for mentoree to participate in highly visible activities within the organization and outside of it.

(Adapted from the article, "Training Managers for Their Role in a Career Development System," by Zandy B. Leibowitz and Nancy K. Schlossberg, *Training & Development Journal*, American Society for Training and Development, July 1981. To order, call Customer Support, 703/683-8129.)

Appendix K: Mentoring in Non-Youth Related Fields

Geiger (1992)

COSTS OF PREVENTABLE PROBLEMS

School Dropout

▲ Each year's class of dropouts will, over their lifetime, cost the nation about $260 billion in lost earnings and foregone taxes.

▲ In a lifetime, a male high school dropout will earn $260,000 less than a high school graduate, and contribute $78,000 less in taxes. A female who does not finish high school will earn $200,000 less, and contribute $60,000 less in taxes.

▲ Unemployment rates for high school dropouts are more than twice those of high school graduates. Between 1973 and 1986, young people who did not finish high school suffered a 42 percent drop in annual earnings in constant 1986 dollars.

▲ Each added year of secondary education reduces the probability of public welfare dependency in adulthood by 35 percent.

Teenage Pregnancy

▲ The United States spent more than $19 billion in 1987 in payments for income maintenance, health care, and nutrition to support families begun by teenagers.

▲ Babies born to teen mothers are at heightened risk of low birthweight. Initial hospital care for low-birthweight infants averages $20,000. Total lifetime medical costs for low-birthweight infants averages $400,000.

▲ Of teens who give birth, 46 percent will go on welfare within four years; of unmarried teens who give birth, 73 percent will be on welfare within four years.

Alcohol and Drug Abuse

▲ Alcohol and drug abuse in the United States cost more than $136 billion in 1980 in reduced productivity, treatment, crime, and related costs.

Appendix L: Costs of Preventable Programs

Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development Turning Points (1990)

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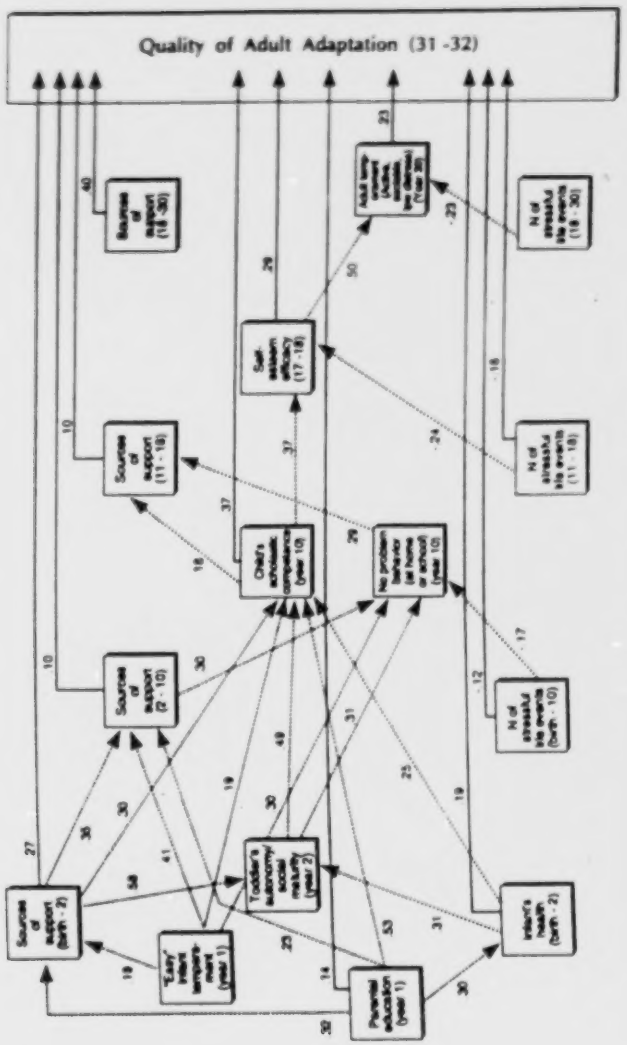

Figure A3 Paths relating protective factors and number of stressful life events to quality of adult adaptation: high risk males

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Appendix M: Protective Factors Fostering Resiliency & Adult Adaptation

Werner & Smith (1992)

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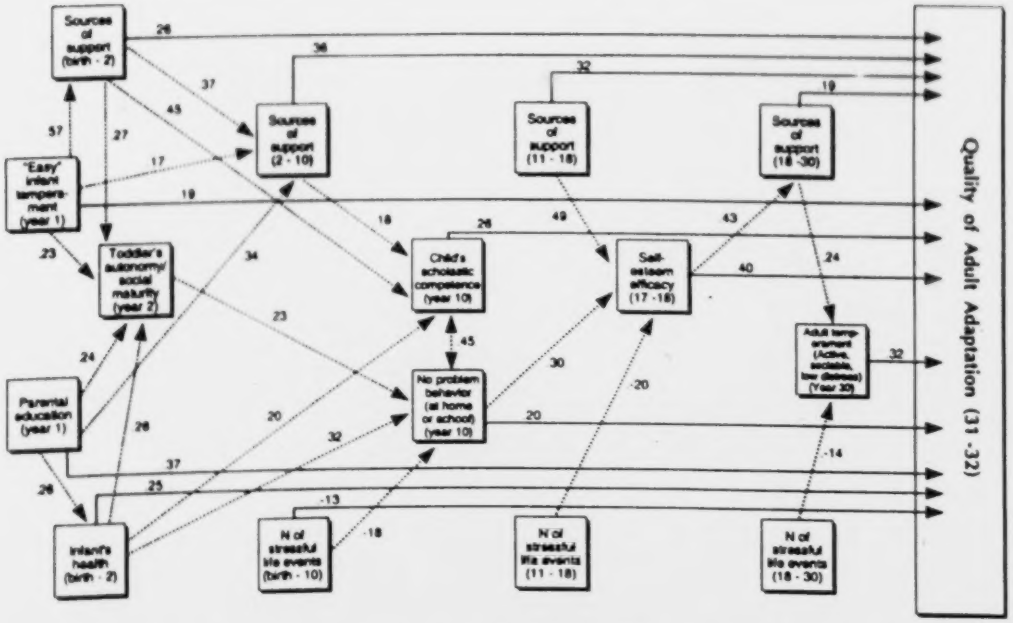
Sources of support (birth - 2)
Sources of support (2 - 10)
Sources of support (11 - 18)
Sources of support (18 -30)
"Easy" infant temperament (year 1)
Toddler's autonomy/ social maturity (year 2)
Child's scholastic competence (year 10)
Self-esteem efficacy (17 - 18)
Adult temperament (Active, sociable, low distress) (Year 30)
Parental education (year 1)
No problem behavior (at home or school) (year 10)
Infant's health (birth - 2)
N of stressful life events (birth - 10)
N of stressful life events (11 - 18)
N of stressful life events (18 - 30)
Quality of Adult Adaptation (31 -32)

Figure A4. Paths relating protective factors and number of stressful life events to quality of adult adaptation: high risk females

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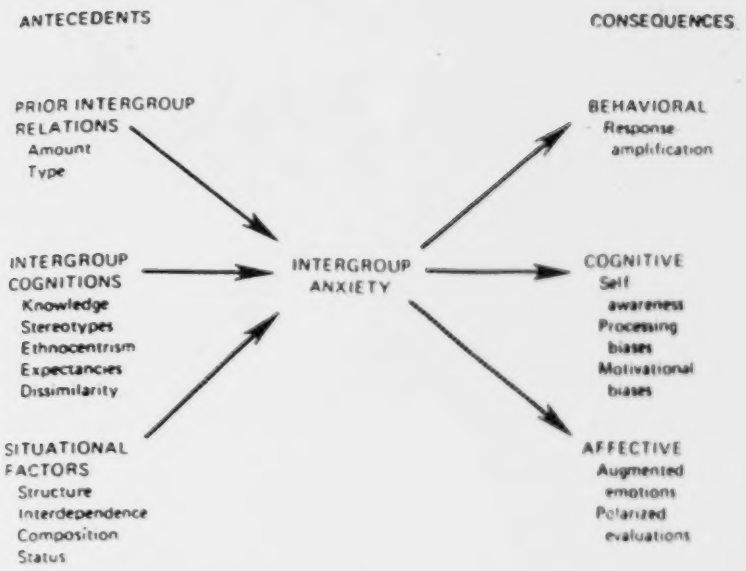

Fig. 1. A model of intergroup anxiety

Appendix N: Model of Intergroup Anxiety

Stephan & Stephan (1985)

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5 HYPOTHESES ON INTERGROUP ANTAGONISM:
A structural-behavioral theory
(Labovitz & Hagedorn, 1975, pp. 446-448)

HYPOTHESIS 1: Noncompetitive situation & groups aren't treated as a resource in production		
Differences in Social Power	Degree of Antagonism	
	High	Low
Large	10	0
Small	0	10

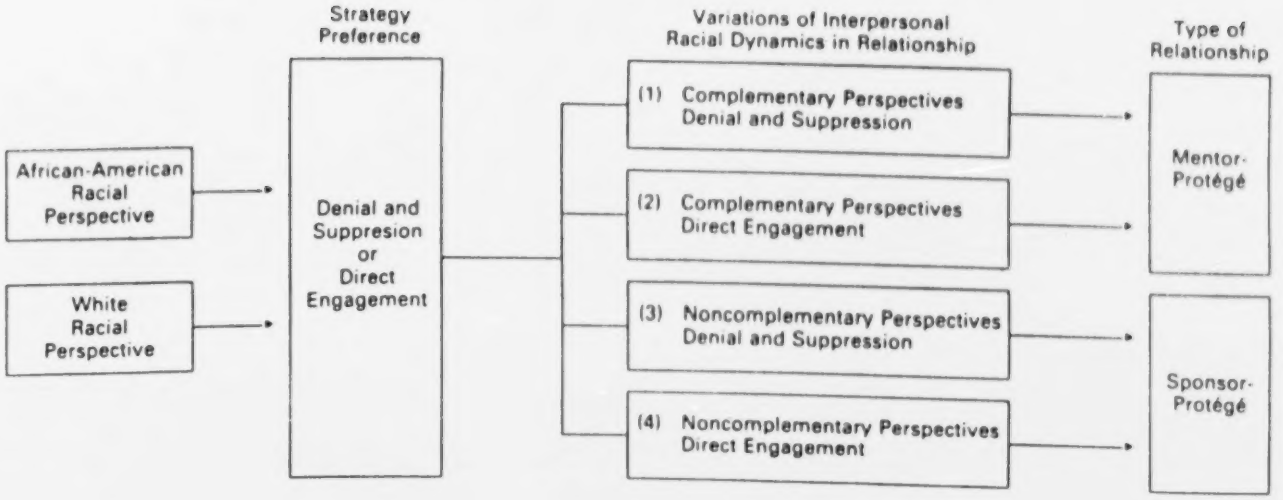
HYPOTHESIS 2: Competitive situation		
Differences in Social Power	Degree of Antagonism	
	High	Low
Large	0	10
Small	10	0

HYPOTHESIS 3: Noncompetitive situation & groups aren't treated as a resource in production		
Degree of Contact	Degree of Antagonism	
	High	Low
High	0	10
Low	10	0

HYPOTHESIS 4: Competitive situation with small power differences		
Degree of Contact	Degree of Antagonism	
	High	Low
High	10	0
Low	0	10

HYPOTHESIS 5: Competitive situation with large power differences		
Degree of Contact	Degree of Antagonism	
	High	Low
High	7	3
Low	3	7

Figure 1. A process model of racial dynamics in cross-race developmental relationships.


Strategy Preference
Variations of Interpersonal Racial Dynamics in Relationship
Type of Relationship
African-American Racial Perspective
White Racial Perspective
Denial and Suppresion or Direct Engagement
(1) Complementary Perspectives Denial and Suppression
(2) Complementary Perspectives Direct Engagement
(3) Noncomplementary Perspectives Denial and Suppression
(4) Noncomplementary Perspectives Direct Engagement
Mentor-Protégé
Sponsor-Protégé

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